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The Dawn

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Dawn Society's Magazine

Part I : Indiana

1. The New Delhi and the Protection of India's Beautiful Art. A Letter from Major J.B. Keith
2. Message of "Hope" for India By Mr. E. B. Havell
[Being an Appeal for a Better Recognition of Indian Civilisation in the Government of India]
3. Mr. Havell's Appeal for a Better Recognition of Indian Civilisation in the Government of India -By the Editor

Part II : Topics for Discussion

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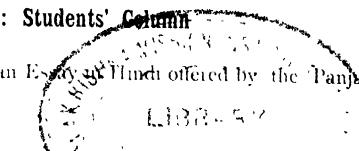
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INDIAN REVIEW

EDITED BY MR. G. A. NETSON.

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VOL. XVI
No. 1

JANUARY 1913

WHOLE
No. 181

PART I : INDIANA

THE NEW DELHI AND THE PROTECTION OF INDIA'S BEAUTIFUL ART : A LETTER FROM MAJOR J. B. KEITH

BELVEDERE HOTEL, AVENUE DES ALPES,
LAUSANNE, SWITZERLAND,
10th December, 1912.

My DEAR SIR,

I have to thank you for November copies of the Dawn. The notices have greatly gratified me. On a later occasion I hope to forward a copy of a letter I am circulating regarding what I grieve to call a projected act of vandalism, the worst I have known in India, by the proposal to prepare buildings for the Government in the European Renaissance Style of Architecture. My devout hope is that Government will desist from this before it is too late, for it is deceived over this point. And I hope every lover of a beautiful, traditional, and living art such as we have in India will enter a righteous protestation. No other country that I am aware of in the East has a traditional Art, nor in the West either. It would be a flagrant injustice to the Native Architect and to my old friends the mason and craftsmen, and a fine illustration of the extent to which Europeanisation is being carried. The Native Press have committed errors and all friends of India deplore them, but here they can unite with a righteous protest for the protection of their beautiful Art! It has been said that our system of Education in its European exaggeration as taught in our colleges is as little adapted to the wants of the people as the Architecture of the colleges so destitute of all that makes up indigenous national thought and feeling. But I hope Government will belie the statement and give a better apology for European Education than in the contemplated European Renaissance for the Government Capital of Delhi.

With my kind regards,

Sincerely Yours,

O.C. GANGOLY COLLECTION (Sd.) J. B. KEITH,

THE MESSAGE OF "HOPE" FOR INDIA

[Being an Appeal for a Better Recognition of Indian Civilisation in the Government of India]

I

1. In a recent letter to *The Times** I drew attention to the unique opportunity afforded by the removal of the Imperial Capital from Calcutta to Delhi for establishing a sounder principle of architectural design in Government buildings throughout India. The importance of this question for the future development of Indian art and craft will, I think, be obvious to most people. The example set by the Imperial Government in public buildings must always have a potent influence for good or evil, not only with all Indian craftsmen engaged in the construction of them, but with all the Indian aristocracy who looks to Government for correct models of taste and fashion. And the connexion between craft and architectural style need not be enlarged upon. If architectural styles in India are wholly based upon the more or less mechanical imitation of foreign models, it follows as the night the day that the same Philistine influence will permeate all the crafts directly or indirectly connected with architecture and tend to destroy [redacted] artistic vitality. It is useless to declaim against the injury done to Indian Art by the Ruling Princes building their Palaces in debased styles and upholstering them according to the catalogues of [redacted] Road and the Bon Marché, when by doing so they are only following the example set by the highest representatives of the Imperial and Local Governments. Neither is the mischief in any way diminished by sending our best architects to provide better models for Indian builders to copy.

2. But the every obvious artistic principle here involved is only one aspect of a much larger sociological and economic question in which the policy of British Administration is deeply concerned. Is British rule in India, as a tremendous sociological experiment, only to stand for those modern economic and industrial developments which overspread the West in the nineteenth century? Are we, ignoring their concomitant evils with which all energies of modern statesmen and sociologists are trying to grapple, and the risk of propagating those evils on a vastly greater scale in the secund soil of the tropics, to continue to use these same developments as a battering ram for pulverising the effete social and industrial organisation of Hinduism? Are we to regard our present economic system, represented by the great

* *The Times* (London) of 22nd December, 1911 : This Letter was reprinted in the February, 1912 issue of the *Dawn Magazine*.—Editor, 'Dawn.'

industrial cities of Europe and America—the product of a new experimental science which is constantly changing the basis of its action, still investigating unknown forces and creating new social problems—as a solid and permanent foundation on which we can safely build up the future of our Indian Empire?

II

3. To those who have followed closely the economic and industrial policy of Indian administration since Calcutta became the seat of Imperial Government, it must indeed seem that this is the case. Just as in educational matters the Macaulay view of Oriental learning has dominated the whole scheme of the Anglo-Indian Universities, so the views of the enterprising merchants who control the trade of the great Indian seaports have dominated the councils of the Government of India in all matters relating to Indian commerce and industry. In many departments of the Civil Service, especially those connected with the revenue and courts of justice, the long experience gained by district officers in close touch with the people—an intimacy, unfortunately much less close now than in former days—has created an administrative tradition more or less in harmony with Indian social customs and ways of thinking. In matters relating to trade and industry, a tradition has also been created; but it is a tradition in which the predominance of Western Commercialism has been overwhelming. Indian Commerce, in a departmental sense, means only the trade between Europe and India. Indian Industry means the adaptation of Western Machinery and the methods of modern Capitalism to the exploitation of Indian Labour. Technical Education means not the application of scientific and artistic knowledge to the organisation and development of indigenous handicrafts, but the effort to supersede Eastern handicraft by Western machinery. Art Education means not the development of the creative faculties and the revival of Indian culture, but the teaching of free hand and model drawing, geometry, perspective, anatomy and design according to the formularies of South Kensington.

Theoretically, of course, departmentalism takes a deep paternal interest in indigenous industries and in Indian Art. There have been commissions, conferences, committees, exhibitions, despatches, Government resolutions and orders on the subject. But the net result of these discussions has been to confirm the official mind in the belief that Indian Handicraft is useless and out of date, that Indian Art is based upon wrong principles, that everything that could be reasonably expected of a paternal Government is being done, and that it is best to leave well alone. Still in order that the official conscience and the

public mind may be quite at ease, of late years the departmental machinery has been strengthened by the appointment of many more European experts, who make sure that the old policy is continued on the most approved European principles. Any attempt on their part to vary the departmental tradition by going a little deeper into the cause of things is promptly suppressed, as no doubt it should be—from a departmental standpoint.

III

5. There is, however, another side of the question, and a more excellent way, which the Imperial Government, in their new environment among the historic traditions of the ancient capital of Hindustan, might well take into consideration. Here in Europe legislators and social reformers are made too well aware of the dark side of modern industrialism to look upon it as an unmitigated blessing to Humanity at large, as the administrators of India are inclined to regard it from the cool heights of Simla and Darjeeling and among the luxuries of Calcutta Society. For the last fifty years the aim of most European legislation has been directed towards mitigating the evils, the waste of human life, the moral and spiritual degradation, and physical suffering which have accompanied the growth of Capitalism and improvements in mechanical science. The struggle between Capital and Labour, which sometimes seems to threaten the every foundations of Society, is largely the struggle of the workman for emancipation from the servitude of the Machine which Capitalism has imposed upon him.

6. It is not only the artistic temperament which sees in the rapid extinction of handicraft a great social danger. All sociologists agree that the success of the efforts now being made to stem the flow of the agricultural population to the already overcrowded industrial cities must depend largely upon the revival of village handicraft as an adjunct to agriculture. All of them agree that the substitution of machinery for handicraft, both from an economic and sociological as well as from an artistic standpoint, has been carried too far. Mr. G. K. Chesterton,* in his emphatic manner, declared lately that all intelligent

* Mr. Gilbert Keith Chesterton, or "G. K. C." as he is familiarly known to the man in the street, is a veritable literary Proteus, combining in a unique personality the varied roles of journalist, essayist, poet, fantasist, politician and controversialist. So comprehensive is his survey that he seems to pass the whole of life under review, and impression succeeds to impression with such lightning rapidity that the reader is uneasily suspicious of a mental jugglery by a literary Maskelyne. In an age that surely needs the guidance of a strong brain Mr. Chesterton has come as an apostle of common sense and his writings breathe a virility that is seldom found in modern literature. Mr. Chesterton, like Mr. Hilaire Belloc, is in no love with the latest developments of the modern commercial civilisation of the West;

people in England, Tory and Radical alike, have long come to the conclusion that the mere mechanical expansion of commercialism carried on in our great industrial cities is not civilisation, but a very sad sort of savagery. Such illumination has certainly not penetrated far into the heights and depths of Anglo-Indian officialdom, but autocracy in Russia, bureaucracy in Germany, Austria, and Great Britain have joined with democracy in France and America and with individualists all over the Western world in upholding, within their own special limitations and capacities, the gospel of handicraft preached and practised by Ruskin and William Morris. So that we have now the remarkable spectacle of the excellently organised village handicrafts of Austro-Hungary competing with the hand-workers of India in their own markets, and processes of hand-work directly derived from India, like the *batik* work of Java, taught in the technical schools of Holland and scientific Germany. It is not only, however, in artistic processes that Europe has been exploiting the traditional craft-lore of India, manufacturers of all kinds have been sending their agents to investigate the technical secrets of Indian hand-worker. Even in departments of science which Europe has been wont to consider exclusively its own, the most enterprising men of business have thought it worth while to turn their attention to the wisdom of the East, as is evident from the fact that a well-known English firm has been for sometime conducting at considerable expense an exhaustive scientific inquiry into Indian chemistry, *materia-medica*, and medical science.

IV

7. Meanwhile what has been the gospel by which we would create a new heaven and a new earth in India? Only the dismal gospel of the nineteenth century—that India must entirely forsake her own

the sympathies of both of them are with the better side of the old order of things. "Their hearts are with the villagers, not with the townsmen." The ideal of a State which both these original and vigorous thinkers give expression to, as stated by another contemporary living thinker and critic, Mr. H. G. Wells, is "a State in which property is widely distributed, a community of independent families protected by law and an intelligent democratic statecraft from the economic aggressions of large accumulations and linked by a common religion." (pp. 15-16, *The Great State—Essays in Construction* by H. G. Wells and others; Harper's Colonial Library Series, Harper and Brothers, London and New York, 1912). If Mr. Chesterton with his instinctive insight into the realities of complicated situations would turn his attention to the sociological problems of India where the impact of two civilisations—the old and the new—is making rapidly for some new uncertain goal, he will discover situations no less interesting and, perhaps, also no less difficult than any upon which he has hitherto exercised the powers of a most original and fertile brain.—*Editor, Dawn.*

learning, her craft, her art, and her science, and humbly sit at the feet of Europe to learn civilisation. ' You have no learning,' we say, ' worth a bookshelf of our libraries* ; your sciences are absurd, your art likewise; your handicrafts are obsolete, and you have no industries—except, of course, your prehistoric agriculture.'

8. 'Come into our schools and colleges ; we will send you European professors to teach you literature, science, and art. Leave your villages, you millions of hand-weavers ; the handloom is a relic of antiquity ; your salvation lies in the city. Come into our factories, with your women and your little children ; we will show you the magic of the Machine. We will build you great cities like Manchester and Birmingham. Progress lies only with Capitalism and Machinery. Work for us, you poor benighted artisans ; we will give you all the blessings of Western Civilisation.' They are now enjoying a foretaste of these blessings in the purlieus of Bombay and Calcutta !

9. The recital of a few undeniable facts will show that this is not exaggerated rhetoric. The whole system of the Anglo-Indian Universities is based upon the theory, which has only been emphasised by the educational reforms initiated in Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty, that the original sources of the highest wisdom for the Indian student are at Oxford, Cambridge, London, and other British seats of learning, and that none of these exist in India. No degree, honorary or otherwise, is conferred by any Anglo-Indian University exclusively for Indian learning, however distinguished it may be, though the motto of the largest of them is 'for the Advancement of Learning.' With the rarest exceptions every young European educational officer, coming straight from college and without any further training in India, takes precedence of every Indian professor, even if the latter should have a European degree. In the official Medical Schools all Indian medical knowledge is tabooed as pure quackery. It should be regarded as waste of time to inquire whether there was any use in it. In the Colleges of Engineering, where architectural design adapted to official requirements is taught as an extra, the Indian student is supposed to be qualified in the subject when he has copied and learnt by heart a few diagrams of European classic orders and some Gothic mouldings. Such a smattering of European eclecticism is, of course, insufficient even for the architectural requirements of the Public Works Department ; the result being that architecture as a learned profession is completely barred to Indian students, and that European amateurs or

* "A single shelf of a good European library is worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia"—such was the language used by Macaulay, then Law Member of the Government of India, in his celebrated Minute of February 2, 1835.—Editor, *Dawn*.

experts, generally without the slightest acquaintance with the great historic and living traditions of Indian builders, must be employed to satisfy departmental requirements.

10. Indian Art is permitted to range within the walls of our Government schools, so far as the European Principals who are appointed solely on their Western academic qualifications, will allow it to do so—a matter on which they are free to exercise their own discretion. But the teaching of drawing and design as a part of general education is conducted, under the orders of the Directors of Public Instruction, exclusively on the old-fashioned South Kensington lines. No official attempt has ever been made to investigate the principles and practice of Indian art-teaching and apply them to modern educational requirements.

11. As to handicrafts, beyond some feeble and spasmodic attempts to drag what are called Indian 'art-wares' within the net of Western Commercialism, they can hardly be said to exist in an official sense in India. Until a few years ago they were not included in the official statistics of Indian Trade and Industry; the greatest Indian industry after agriculture being returned as the spinning and weaving carried on at the power-loom mills, which employ a few hundred thousands of workers, against at least five or six millions supported by the indigenous hand-weaving industry.

12. Having first broken up the wonderful organisation of the Indian village communities, we have never lifted a finger to prevent the decay of village handicraft, which Western sociologists now recognise as an indispensable adjunct to agriculture. The only statistics in which, until quite recently, hand-weavers appeared were the census returns and those relating to famine relief works, where 'special relief of weavers' is still a regularly recurring item. It has never occurred to the departmental mind that if a tithe of the money which in the last fifty years has been given in these charitable doles had been used in times of plenty, in the same kind of intelligent organisation and instruction which have produced such remarkable results in Ireland, the position of Indian hand-weaving as the most valuable industrial asset of the country would have been permanently maintained. But even Lord Curzon's splendid energy could not break through the departmental tradition that the Machine spells progress and Hand-industry decay, as was evident from his Delhi Durbar speech, in which he declared that the handloom was doomed to extinction just as surely as the hand-punkah was being superseded by the electric fan.

13. Though in the last few years the existence of hand-weaving as an industry has been officially recognised, the main object of the few technical experts now employed in Government service has been to

break up the village industry entirely by organising large hand-factories to compete with it, and to divert the grants originally intended for instruction in hand-weaving to relieving the managers of power-loom mills from the necessity of training their own technical assistants. Lord Curzon initiated the policy of importing 'experts' from Europe to deal with every artistic and technical problem; and every year their number is being increased as a security that departmental 'progress' is maintained. But the best of European experts take many years to understand Indian conditions, and few make the attempt. Departmental tradition, excellent as a regulariser in moderate doses, becomes a strong mental soporific when taken in excess. The temptation for excessive indulgence are many: it is so much more expedient and popular to repeat the departmental parrot-cries: 'Indian art and architecture are dead: Indian crafts are obsolete: wake up, India! Give up your senseless old ideals and follow ours.'

V

14. Of course, in the most egregious fallacies there are nearly always some grains of truth. Indian Art has lost its old strength and vigour; it needs a new impulse and fresh inspiration. It can conceivably receive them by a flow of new ideas from the highest Western sources. Personally I am convinced that reconciliation between Eastern and Western Ideals might bring about a greater Renaissance than the world has ever known. I have myself continually tried to show that the Indian handicraft can benefit enormously by the judicious artistic application of Western science and mechanical invention. Indian social life, like that of the West, needs purging of many vices; and the removal of many vicious excrescences, for which British rule is in no way responsible, is imperatively necessary. To insist that the remains of Indian culture and civilisation are nevertheless valuable is not to depreciate the real progress made in the civilisation of the West. If it is the height of folly to attempt to exclude all Western influences from Eastern art, science, industry, and social life, it is an almost criminal blunder to undermine Indian Civilisation without the most careful inquiry and well-balanced judgment, *in which both the Eastern and Western points of view are thoroughly and impartially considered.* Such a full and impartial inquiry has never been officially attempted. Indian Art and Architecture, Economics, Sociology and Science have been condemned by a Court which has not heard the case for the defence.

15. It is not too much to hope that the removal of the Imperial Capital from Calcutta to Delhi may lead the way to a wholesome change in the attitude of Indian departmentalism towards these questions, and

that the necessity, from both a political and sociological point of view, of a better understanding of all Indian problems will be clear to the statesmen who have planned this brilliant stroke of policy. It should no longer be left to the personal taste of a Viceroy, a Governor, the Head of a Department, or a Consulting Architect, to decide whether the style of a public building should imitate an old English mansion, a Rhine castle, or the nondescript modern European building; or whether the living traditions of Indian architecture should be respected and allowed to strike fresh roots in their own native soil. It should no longer be left to the direction of a Director of Public Instruction, or European artistic experts, to determine whether Indian methods of art-teaching are suitable for the education of Indian students or not. It should not be left to private Societies in London and Calcutta to protect Indian Art from official Philistines: It should be the duty of the Government to prosecute inquiries and collect material to be used for the benefit of Indian Art and Industry, and not only to assist the exploitations of British and foreign manufacturers; the latter can be trusted to look after their own interests. It has been, as Lord Curzon has said, the traditional policy of the Indian Government to protect the ryot against the rapacious zemindar. It should be no less its duty to protect the handcraftsman against the overpowering energies of the capitalist. The sporadic official investigations recently begun in various Indian provinces for developing the hand-weaving industry should be systematised on well-defined principles, so that the Government may be recognised as the active and sympathetic defender of the village-weaver, both the artisan and the artist, against the assaults of Western commercialism; instead of being regarded as the strongest ally of the capitalist in extending the worse than savagery of European industrial slums to India. We should apply Western mechanical science with an intelligent anticipation of its future progress in Europe. The crowded power-loom mill is not the last word of industrial science. Nasmyth has not rendered the blacksmith's hammer obsolete. The mechanical brain has not diminished the value of man's creative faculties. *The social and industrial fabric which we should build to justify our rule in India must be a fairer one than either Europe or India can show. We cannot hope to blunder through only with our Western knowledge. The combined experience of East and West is essential for success.*

VI

16. Ignorance of Indian institutions and methods on the part of technical experts should no longer be regarded as a passport for advancement in the public service. The pathway for successful careers

in all branches of the art and crafts should be made clear for Indian youth by the removal of the insuperable obstacles now placed in their way by the traditions of the Public Works and Education Departments and by the organisation of the Anglo-Indian Universities. If such a change of mental attitude on the part of the Indian Administration is not to be brought about in the present generation, the initiative in such reforms must come from above, and not from the crowd of European experts now being sent out to India.

17. Without a definite mandate and a clearly defined policy from the highest authorities, the individual expert, however well-intentioned he may be, is powerless against the sacrosanct traditions of the public Services, and the little good which may be done under one administration is continually being undone by the next. The traditions themselves must be altered by the *force majeure* of the Secretary of State and Governor-General in Council.

18. There can be no doubt that such exercise of authority would be both politic and just, and would be hailed by all right-thinking Indians as a practical fulfilment of the King-Emperor's Message of "Hope" to his subjects. The time has gone by since departmentalism had what stands for Indian public opinion on its side in its fine contempt for Indian Culture. To thoughtful Indians the allurements of Western Civilisation have lost their glamour, and even for the Philistine (whose number is legion) the economic pressure brought about by an administrative system which offers a liberal education with one hand, and bars the outlets for lucrative employment with the other, is the most potent cause of sedition and discontent.

19. An enlargement of the scope of the Anglo-Indian Universities so as to admit Architecture and the Fine Arts within the pale of the humanities; the more ample recognition of the claims of Indian learning, and an intelligent attitude towards Indian Art throughout the official services would relieve this economic pressure, and open out careers for Indian students more healthy and more suitable for many temperaments than those to which they are now driven by force of circumstances—namely, the legal profession, journalism, medicine, and the smaller appointments in the Public Works, Educational, and other Services. And since charity, or love should begin at home, it would be well that we took more care that the knowledge of India which is now disseminated among the British public is both wider and deeper. The Indian Institute at Oxford, so far as the achievements of Indian Art are concerned, seems to be expressly designed to perpetuate in the minds of future Anglo-Indian administrators—budding Viceroys, Governors, and civilians—that vigorous but ignorant contempt for all

things Indian, which is ingrained in the English Public School boy. The Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum and that part of the British Museum which relates to Indian Religions are entirely organised upon the same false estimate of Indian Civilisation which lies at the root of all the blunders of our educational policy in India. It is certainly most desirable from all points of view that not only technical and art experts but all Anglo-Indian officials, before they take up their appointments in India, should graduate at an Indian Institute worthy of the name, located either in this country or in India; so that *the sympathetic study of the different aspects of Oriental life and thought should no longer be a mere question of personal inclination, but an indispensable introduction to the Indian Government Services.*

E. B. HAVELL

[NOTE BY THE EDITOR.—The reader's attention is here drawn to the next following article which is written in further support and in elaboration of some of the vital ideas and propositions of Mr. Havell as presented by him in this somewhat remarkable Paper. The importance of the subject dealt with is our excuse for reproducing it *in extenso*, from the pages of the *Nineteenth Century And After*, December, 1912, in which it originally appeared.]

MR. HAVELL'S APPEAL FOR A BETTER RECOGNITION OF INDIAN CIVILISATION IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

I

We beg specially to draw the attention of our readers to an important article entitled *The Message of Hope for India*, appearing elsewhere in this number. The article is vigorously worded, as all writings from Mr. Havell's pen are, and is thrown into somewhat controversial form, but essentially it is an appeal to the Indian and the Home Governments to find a place and an important place for some of the valuable ideals and principles of Indian Life, Civilisation and Culture in the scheme of British Government for this country. And it is in reference to this aspect of the matter that Mr. Havell felt prompted to draw for the title of his present article up on the King-Emperor's ever-memorable, most solemn, and most gracious words delivered in Calcutta in January last year: "Six years ago I sent from England to India a Message of Sympathy. To-day in India I give to India the Watchword of Hope." Mr. Havell's further justification for his appeal to the highest authorities to devise ways and means to introduce in Britain's scheme of Indian administration a leaven of

Indian ideals is to be found in the same august pronouncement, where His Imperial Majesty sounds the keynote of the future policy which is to signalise the new era inaugurated by himself, of peace, goodwill and contentment in this country, namely, "the gradual union and fusion of the culture and aspiration of Europeans and Indians on which the future well-being of India so greatly depends." If this is to be the motto of the new era, assuredly Mr. Havell's following statement—"Personally I am convinced that reconciliation between Eastern and Western Ideals might bring about a greater Renaissance than the world has ever known" (paragraph 14 of Mr. Havell's article)—cannot be dismissed as an individual expression of ill-judged opinion. "If it is the height of folly to attempt to exclude all Western influences from Eastern art, science, industry, and social life," Mr. Havell continues, "it is an almost criminal blunder to undermine Indian civilisation without the most careful inquiry and well-balanced judgment in which both the Eastern and Western points of view are thoroughly and impartially considered" (*Ibid.*). And the pith of Mr. Havell's complaint is that "such a full and impartial inquiry has never been officially attempted, Indian Art and Architecture, Economics, Sociology, and Science having been condemned by a Court which has not heard the case for the defence" (*Ibid.*). From Mr. Havell's point of view, which is the point of view of an increasing group of Indian thinkers, the new era in India which may well be styled as the Georgian era must signalise itself by the discarding of the old shibboleth of the pre-Georgian era of British India,—that there is no good to be found in the lost kingdom of Israel, and that therefore slowly but silently, the old edifice should have to go and be replaced by a new model exclusively British or Western in its pattern. That may be taken to have been, during the whole of the last three-quarters of the 19th century, the accepted policy of British statesmanship in India, which first received a definite accession of strength through the inspiration of Lord Macaulay, and which was supported and crystallised into shape by the advanced thought of the Victorian era. The new Georgian era has begun with a declaration of an altered policy from the lips of His Imperial Majesty, but it will evidently take time to permeate the Administration; for the application of a new policy cannot be made by an abrupt uprooting of existing methods and standards, and further it will not be in a day that the vast body of officials, European and Indian, who are in charge of the detailed administration of the country and who are accustomed to the working out of methods and ideals of the pre-Georgian era, will be able to learn the new lesson and assimilate the spirit of the new policy. Meanwhile it is even possible, that the

continued application of a vigorous initiative by the highest authorities of the land which is necessary to give effect to the policy of the Georgian era may be somewhat and even prematurely relaxed through a change in the personnel of the existing Government of India, in which case the period of transition between the old and the new will be unnecessarily prolonged.

II

Mr. Havell's appeal—the appeal of the vast majority of Indians—is that the Government which is in charge of the destinies of the people should make it increasingly clear that the old formula—first enunciated with surprising definiteness by Macaulay in his Minute of February 2, 1835—that "we must do our best to form a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect"—has been definitely given the go-by, but that instead, the whole administration should be permeated with the spirit of the policy definitely laid down in the King-Emperor's Pronouncement, namely, the policy of a "gradual union and fusion of the culture and aspiration of Europeans and Indians." If then the new era is to be distinguished from the old, it would appear that the foremost reform upon which the Government should in the first instance concentrate itself would be a reform in the system of recruitment of the I. C. S. and other officials for this country. If the Administration continued to be manned by men who did not add to their other many qualifications the gift of sympathy for the people and their traditional culture, no real advance would be possible towards a better realisation of the promises of the present Georgian era—promises which have captured the heart of Native India. No doubt here and there among the existing body of officials in this country we find a true and reasoned conviction that the Indian problem is not to be solved by attempting to impose upon the children of the soil from without Western ideals, methods and standards, and that the more excellent way should be to help in the development of the country by natural, evolutionary methods, suggested alike by the need of progressive reform and of building upon the existing foundations of Indian ideals, culture and civilisation. But these only represent exceptions to the general rule, and the reason for this state of things is to be found in the circumstance that the existing system of recruitment has not been able to lay down any safeguards against the introduction into the Services of men who through previous training, natural predilection, or other causes, are either indifferent to the claims of Indian Culture and Civilisation, or have imbibed a contempt for them. In our opinion if the future Government of the country should have to be conducted on improved lines and there is to be a greater *rapprochement* between

the People and the Rulers, a moral basis will have to be found for it in the lines laid down by the King-Emperor ; and it is, therefore, profoundly needful that the Government should make no initial mistake on the question of the proper recruitment of officers for the Services. Already, as Mr. Havell has clearly brought out in the course of his Paper, the Indian Services have definitely built up a *tradition* which is sufficiently strong, but which is not particularly noted for its sympathy for Indian ideals, culture and civilisation. And yet without breaking through this wall of unsympathetic tradition of the Departments, there is no hope that the new Georgian era of a greater *rapprochement* between the People and the Rulers could even be successfully inaugurated. Against the dead wall of unsympathetic departmentalism, as Mr. Havell puts it, there is no hope or chance of success for the well-intentioned new-comer who would gladly help in the work of union and fusion of Indian and Western ideals in the administration of the country. Says Mr. Havell : "Without a definite mandate and a clearly defined policy from the highest authorities, the individual expert, however well-intentioned he may be, is powerless against the sacrosanct traditions of the public Services, and the little good which may be done under one administration is continually being undone by the next. The traditions themselves must be altered by the *force majeure* of the Secretary of State and Governor-General in Council." And Mr. Havell makes the further definite suggestion that "not only technical and art experts but all Anglo-Indian officials, before they take up their appointments in India, should graduate at an Indian Institute worthy of the name, located either in this country or in India ; so that the sympathetic study of the different aspects of Oriental life and thought should no longer be a mere question of personal inclination, but an indispensable introduction to the Indian Government Services."

III

Since the promulgation of Macaulay's famous ideal of Indian Educational State Policy that Indians must be Europeanised in "morals, in intellect, in taste, in opinions" and could be permitted to remain "Indian only in blood and colour," the march of events following as the result of the impact of two civilisations in our midst, the Indian and the Western, has given rise to the belief among the general body of administrators in this country that India is going to be overwhelmed in a flood of Westernism (caused chiefly, however, by the importation of Western commercialism and methods of economic production), and that there is no way or power to stay it. As pithily expressed by the Barrows Lecturer for 1912-13, Dr. Charles Richmond Henderson, Professor of Sociology in the University of Chicago, in the first of his

lectures at St. Stephen's College, Delhi (7th December, 1912)—“ Men might seek to stay the flood, but it would overwhelm the East as it had surely overwhelmed the West. Climate, temperament and other influences might serve to modify the course of the flood ; but the East must inevitably come within its scope. There was just this difference. The Western nations groped their way for centuries without the aid of modern science and medical art : the Orient can have them all as a free gift...The East could learn to avoid the misery and the awful waste that the West has had to endure before the people learned wisdom. Just as there was no true knowledge before the era of scientific research, even so, there was no development possible without a careful study of the principles of social organisation and conduct. The lessons drawn from the aims and methods, the successes and failures of Western nations are suggestive and helpful.” (*Vide the Morning Post of Delhi, December 10, 1912.*) The above represents in a broad, general manner the unspoken thoughts of many of our administrators and also the reasoned and matured convictions of men in high official positions like the Hon’ble E. S. Montagu, the present Under-Secretary of State for India and the Hon’ble Sir Theodore Morison, K.C.I.E., Member of the Council of His Majesty’s Secretary of State for India. Macaulay’s views about the need for the complete Europeanisation of an educated class of Indians achieved by the conscious action of the Government in its department of Education, may not at present command that unstinted allegiance which it did for long during the better part of the pre-Georgian era ; but a new thought, a new belief which is considered to be a hopeful feature of the Indian situation has arisen, which is,—that through the operation of causes automatically set in motion by the direct action of the West upon India, the process of Europeanisation for which Macaulay’s heart craved would be naturally furthered and expedited and that thus the future of India is bright with the promise of a new Dawn. This opinion may not be shared by everybody in the Services ; but still it may be said to represent the general opinion, reasoned or unreasoned, spoken or unspoken, but always sympathised with and supported, of a very considerable, and perhaps the larger, part of Anglo-Indian officialdom. As an illustration of a very notable exception to the general trend of such official opinion may be mentioned the views of the Hon’ble Mr. William Malcolm Hailey, B.A., C.I.E., I.C.S., the present Chief Commissioner of the new Province of Delhi, as expressed in his Speech as Chairman of the Meeting at Delhi at the Lecture of Dr. Henderson to which we have just adverted. Referring to the views of the lecturer, the Hon’ble Mr. Hailey said—(we are indebted for this summary of opinion

to the *Morning Post*, December 10, 1912)—“In his position of Chairman it was not for him to add to the remarks of the lecturer, but he might be pardoned if he said one or two things which occurred to him as Dr. Henderson was speaking. The wonderful optimism of the lecturer in his opinion was remarkable. Mr. Hailey referred to the ebb and flow, or as it was perhaps better expressed, the attack and counter-attack, which had taken place and was now in progress between the East and the West. Philosophy, Religion, and Medicine, for instance, in the East are now being attacked, and attacked all along the line, by the West, just as ages ago, these in the West had been attacked by the East. We of the West did not either accept or assimilate all the ideals of the East when they had been thrust upon us, and we must not be impatient if the East now hesitates to accept all the teachings of the West. People were apt to be impatient of ideals. Mr. Hailey’s reply was that they could not assimilate all that was placed before them. They wanted students in the East to make researches into the ideals both of West and East and to profit therefrom.” This is exactly the position taken up by Mr. Havell in his Paper when he says that “it is an almost criminal blunder to undermine Indian Civilisation without the most careful inquiry and well-balanced judgment in which both the Eastern and Western points of view are thoroughly and impartially considered. The social and industrial fabric which we should build to justify our rule in India must be a fairer one than either Europe or India can show. We cannot hope to blunder though only with our Western knowledge. The combined experience of East and West is essential for success” (paragraph 14). In view of His Imperial Majesty’s pronouncement inaugurating the new Georgian India, an era of a gradual “union and fusion of the culture and aspiration of Europeans and Indians.” Mr. Havell’s suggestion necessarily acquires an added force, and the present-day Liberalism (which, it will be seen, is not so very far removed from the older Liberalism of Macaulay’s type) which would allow Indian culture and civilisation and ideals only to take a backseat in the scheme of British Indian administration (or, what is worse, to be quietly submerged under the waves of Europeanism fostered and stimulated by the Administration) must needs assume a new attitude towards Indian ideals and civilisation in its various departments of ‘Art and Architecture, Economics and Sociology and Science,’—an attitude not of haughty indifference or of fine contempt, but an attitude of investigation into, and understanding of, the realities of that civilisation. Without the assumption of such respectful attitude towards the realities of Indian life and character, there is hardly any hope that the Government should be able to overcome the present *vis inertiae* of

an unsympathetic departmentalism, and if it is not overcome,—where is the hope for the inauguration of the new era of union and fusion of Indian and Western culture by which both East and West would profit, and give birth, to quote Mr. Havell's words, to a greater Renaissance than the world has ever known?

IV

If Western Art and Architecture, Western Economics and Sociology, and Western Ethics and Ideals had definitely risen to the height which would have commanded the whole-hearted allegiance of all thinking humanity, or even of the general body of present-day Western thinkers, then it might have been at least plausibly contended that as a civilising agency, possessed of settled notions of right and wrong, the Ruling Power might well seek to impose its ideals upon a subject people for whom it is responsible, without much scruple of administrative conscience, as it has hitherto professed to do in the matter of the imposition of a system of Free Trade upon India. But as things are, neither in Art nor Architecture, neither in Ethics nor Education, nor Economics, nor Religion, nor Sociology, have the general body of Western thinkers and statesmen definitely attained to that level of stable, co-ordinated thought which should truthfully enable them to declare with a show of authority whichc ould not be resisted—"Ye People of India! Forsake your own learning, your own art, your own craft, your own ideals of social organisation, domestic as well as communal, your own system of economic and industrial organisation, your own religio-ethical systems and begin to sit humbly at the feet of Europe to earn civilisation in respect of each and every one of these departments of human life and thought." What are the facts? Is the Western world agreed about itself as to what is best for her? Take the department of Social Organisation. Western thinkers and statesmen are coming to realise that the existing social order in Western countries is liable to collapse and disintegrate un ler the stress of the formidable economic forces set in motion by the growth of Capitalism and Plutocracy and through the emergence of a vast proletariat or "labour horde", as it has been aptly termed,—a servile class of labourers or wage-earners comprising a formidable body;—that in fact the existing social order possesses no vital elements of stability andmust sooner or later give way. And the result has been that various schools of thinkers have made their appearance led by men of note and distinction and appropriating many and divers significant titles,—Individualists, Collectivists, Socialists, Liberals, Fábians, Marxists, Conservators, Constructors, Progressives, Advocates of the *Great State*, etc., etc. Except the Individualist and he Marxist, who desire to let things alone, but each from his own point

of view,—the former because the process of social disintegration and disorder, of domination on the part of the comparatively few and corresponding servility on the part of the rest is regarded as a necessary process of natural selection and survival which should not be interfered with by the restraining hand of social legislation ;—and the latter from the point of view, that “the world must be worse before it could hope to be better,” and that the regime of a “continually exacerbated class war,” of “increasing power for the few and of increasing hardship and misery for the many—a process that would go on until at last a crisis of unendurable tension would be reached and the social revolution should ensue :”—except these two thought-schools—the Individualist and the Marxist,—all the other schools are agreed as to the need for a purposeful and collective effort and understanding. With reference to these other schools, Mr. H. G. Wells, the powerful advocate of the Ideal of the *Great State*, declares¹ :—“ All these movements are agreed that the world is progressive towards a novel and unprecedented *social order, not necessarily and fatally better*, and that it needs organised even institutional guidance thither, however much they differ as to the form that order should assume.” All these other movements postulate that the existing social organisation of Western Europe and America cannot stand, for the situation is continually getting to be intolerable ; and the efforts of Western thinkers and statesmen—and among such efforts may be reckoned recent English social legislation which owes its initiation to Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Asquith principally, to name two of the most prominent of the present Liberal Ministers imbued with the new spirit—are accordingly directed towards bringing about a greater social stability through a reconstruction of Western Society on a new basis—which is their common platform, although they differ as poles asunder as to the specific remedies.

By way of a clearer presentation of the novelty as well as the seriousness of the European situation, we would just mention the remedy proposed by Mr. Hilaire Belloc, one of the better known representatives of the Conservator group of English sociological thinkers :—“ Mr. Belloc would have the widest distribution of proprietorship with an alert democratic government continually legislating against the protean reappearances of usury and accumulation and attacking, breaking up and redistributing any large, unanticipated bodies of wealth that appeared.” And continues Mr. H. G. Wells, from whose *Essay on The Past and the Great State* (p. 18) the above is taken—“ The so-called “socialist” land legislation of New Zealand is a tentative

1. Page 24, *The Great State—Essays in Construction* : By Mr. H. G. Wells and others : Harper's Colonial Series : Harper and Brothers, 45, Albemarle Street, London, W., 1912.

towards a realisation of the same school of ideas,—great estates are to be automatically broken up, property is to be kept disseminated :” We have to note here that the influence of this, the conservator, School of Western social reformers is not confined to a very small section of the thinking world but is apparently extensive in scale. As Mr. Wells points out (p. 19, *ibid*)—“A vast amount of political speeches and writings in America and throughout the world enforces one's impression of the widespread influence of Conservator ideals.” We have no space to explain the different other schemes of social reconstruction of Western Europe advocated by some of other great schools of thought, but we may here just advert to one or two of the principal planks in the scheme of the advocates of the *Great State*, which would show that the difficulty and urgency of the existing situation in the West is considered to be so great that ideas are being put forward by some of the acutest of constructive thinkers—for the advocates of the *Great State* deserve such description—which represent a vast departure which may be tolerated in Europe, but would come as a shock to most of us here in India where the stability of Society has not yet been so woefully undermined under the stress of economic forces set in motion by the growth of Capitalism and Plutocracy aided by the development of Industrial Machinery. Such ideas would come as a shock not only to the most conservative amongst us, but to even the extreme radical wing of social reformers in India, who swear by Westernism and have a conscientious dread of “Oriental ideals” generally, and specially of those associated with Indian Culture and Civilisation,—men for instance, like the Hon’ble Mr. Justice Sir Sankaran Nair, the Hon’ble Mr. Justice Sir N. G. Chandravarkar, and the Hon’ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale. One such idea of the advocates of the social system styled *The Great State*² is that “the irreducible residue of rough, disagreeable and monotonous toil is to be met by some form of labour conscription, which will devote a year let us say of each person’s life to the public service.” We are not in a position to go into the details of the scheme proposed, but we may just mention that the idea is, to quote their own words, to enforce by legislation the principle of “having something more than a mere sentimental ideal of duty in public life, by having the whole population taught in the school and prepare for one year (or whatever period it has to be) of patient and heroic labour, the men for the mines, the fisheries, the sanitary services, railway routine, the women for hospital, and perhaps educational work, and so forth.” (*Vide pp. 39-40 of The Great State, ibid.*)

2. As explained by Mr. H. G. Wells in his Essay on *The Past and the Great State* p. 38 ; see footnote 1.

And another idea of the same school of thinkers is—since “the Mother is, as such, a worker engaged in the undertaking of producing that most valuable of social wealth, children,” she ought to be “paid an independent wage secured by a contract, which is the legal distinction between the position of the free worker and the slave;” “whereas at present the position of the mother is indefinite, and decided by sentiment, not contract.” And again, “the endowment of motherhood (which has already become the usual term to denote the idea) will be in brief—the payment to the mother of a sufficient wage to support herself and her children during the period she devotes to their birth and rearing, and any further period during which she is incapacitated by her previous specialisation in child-bearing. It will be sufficient to cover the necessary outgoing expenses, and, over and above this, provide a profit to herself, at her own free disposal, just as her husband may have a profit over the expenses of his trade or profession. In short, it will give the mother a definite wage for a social service, on exactly the same grounds that any other work is rewarded.”³

As already mentioned, we have no space in this article to discuss the whole facts of the case, as it obtains in the West at the present moment, in respect of every one of the departments of life and thought which go to make up the sum of Western Civilisation. Nor is it necessary for us here to do so. In three previous issues (May, June and December, 1912) of this journal, the realities of the situation in regard to European Art and Architecture were thoroughly discussed, and it was shown that that situation revealed no system but a complete anarchy, and that the attempt to introduce, *in toto* or in the main, European art and architecture into India would result in ushering in the reign of chaos, and not of progress and development,—whatever might be said of the condition in which Indian Art now is. Our chief business in the present section has been to illustrate the thesis that the thinkers of the West are sadly at war among themselves, in respect of so many vital things that instead of asking Indians to forsake their own civilisation and learn civilisation exclusively from Europe, the more excellent way, as Mr. Havell points out in his Paper would be for both East and

3. Vide the essay by Mr. G. R. Stirling Taylor on *The Present Development of the Great State*, pp. 295-97 of *The Great State*, ibid., footnote 1. Read also the following extracts from the essay on *Work in the Great State* by Mr. L. G. Chiozza Money, M. P., (p. 112 of the same volume)—“The marriages of the Great State will be between economic equals, and only maternity will release a woman from her professional duty. Motherhood of course will be the peculiar care of the Great State, and for a certain number of years the mother will draw her professional income as mother, in addition to an endowment for each child, and the child will be in no sense dependent upon the work of its father.”

West to combine in a united effort to discover the root facts of civilisation, with a view to the conservation and enrichment of all that is suggestive and helpful in the culture and civilisation of both. And it was the need for this ideal of conjoint, corporate effort which the King-Emperor in his gracious Message delivered in Calcutta sought to impress both on the Government and the People, of India, when His Majesty definitely and authoritatively made the pronouncement in favour of 'a gradual union and fusion of the culture and aspiration of Europeans and Indians upon which the future welfare of India so greatly depends.'

V

(A)

The difficulty in the way of a better recognition of Indian civilisation and ideals in the governance of this country lies in what may be called the "economic and political sympathies" of the rulers, to use a phrase of Sir Theodore Morison's, uttered at a very recent lecture delivered at Madras. These "sympathies", it may be noted, are partly begotten of a natural, unsophisticated faith in the ideas, thoughts and beliefs originating among the thinkers of Western Europe as representing the advance guard of progressive truth, and partly of a somewhat exclusive (and therefore narrow) training received in those thoughts and ideas. Where such "sympathies" hold the field, there can be no doubt that the tendency is to keep the mind away from a proper study of facts and phenomena representing a different order of social or economic life, and to slur over them in the attempt to impose upon such society a new order which the 'sympathies' dictate. And this attempt may be made with the best of motives and with a generosity of impulse which commands our moral allegiance. But none the less, the seeds of mischief are implanted when in obedience to mere "political and economic sympathies," ideals of State policy are advocated and sought to be enforced which have the effect of silently undermining the existing bases of Indian Society. Where the spirit of scientific study is wanting, the ruling authorities cannot be blamed if they act only in pursuance of their present sympathies; but it is one of the chief grievances of the inarticulate portion of the Indian population who represent the greater part of Native India—and it is these grievances which Mr. Havell's appeal voices—that the existing methods of procedure have the effect of undermining Indian civilisation, although such a result should never be contemplated (as Mr. Havell rightly points out) "without the most careful inquiry and well-balanced judgment, in which both the Eastern

and Western points of view are thoroughly and impartially considered."⁴ And it is his contention that " Indian Art and Architecture, Economics, Sociology and Science, have been condemned by a court which has not heard the case for the defence."

As an illustration of such "sympathies" which stand in the way of a proper understanding of Indian phenomena, may be mentioned the *economic belief* that the stage of economic life through which Western Europe has passed—the stage, namely, of "Industrial Revolution," which "in England as a cyclone," in the language of Sir T. Morison, "obliterated almost every trace of previous economic organisations," and whose ultimate disintegrating and destructive effects on the structure of Western Society, have already begun to make themselves felt,—and which has raised a whole host of problems in Ethics, Politics, Religion and Art which refuse to be easily laid to rest,—as an illustration of such "sympathies" is the belief that this phenomenon of "*industrial revolution*," represents an advanced stage of progressive humanity apparently for no better reason than this—that it has so happened that in Western Europe, the production of goods on a large scale has been one of the outstanding features of such revolution. This 'industrial revolution' is so much prized because it is held that it is the only means at the disposal of the State to realise, with the aid of Capitalistic Finance and Industrial Machinery, an enormous output of goods (whatever the intrinsic value of such goods), which converted into cash by Commercial Finance and accumulating in the hands of the comparatively few, is paraded as the Wealth of the *country*—as *National Wealth* in fact. The ruling idea seems to be, as pointed out by that eminent scientist and sociological thinker, Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, that "whatever favours and assists the production of wealth, of whatever kind, and the accumulation of capital by individuals, necessarily advances the well-being of the whole community. This is seen in the constant references by public writers and public speakers, to our increased trade and manufactures, to our enormous exports and imports, to the high price of our public funds, to the vast extent of our shipping, to the increased amount of Income Tax, and such like indications of *growing wealth and accumulated capital*. And it has found expression in most of the reforms in our fiscal and industrial legislation during the last half-century—reforms which have been advocated on these grounds, and have been adopted by the Legislature with this avowed object. Of such a character are—the repeal of the coal duties, leading to the use of coal as ballast and an enormously increased

⁴ *Vide pp. 11-12, and 16 of "Land Nationalisation" (Social Science Series) : published by Messrs. Swan Sonnenschein and Co., London ; 1902.*

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export ; the *extensive enclosures of commons and their division among the great landowners*;...These with many less important measures all tending in the same direction, and advocated for a similar purpose, have been successful even beyond expectation in adding to the total wealth of the country, and more specially to that of our hereditary landowners, great merchants, great capitalists and astute speculators. The greatly increased wealth of these classes have added largely to the emoluments of the more successful professional men—lawyers and doctors—as well as the profits of the more enterprising traders, and thus an upper middle class has arisen far exceeding in wealth and luxurious living anything before known in England. But none of these legislative acts or the movements and tendencies of which they are expression have had any effect towards the diffusion and equalisation of wealth, or to the diminution of that large class ever hovering on the verge of pauperism;...The fundamental error of our legislators is in favouring the accumulation of wealth rather than its wider distribution."

(B)

We are not at present going into a discussion of the question whether it is not possible for India as she is even at the present day, under proper social conditions and skilled communal guidance (e.g., that provided by the guild system) aided by State legislation to succeed in achieving a sufficiently large amount of wealth-production such as may fairly claim comparison with that which may be effected under the Western system of Factory Production under capitalistic guidance, tempered by strikes and alternating periods of over-production and under-production. It would be enough for us to mention here that even in respect of this question of increased *output* which apparently is the *raison-d'être* of the present industrial system of the West, there are thinkers who honestly believe and hope that in India at any rate highly satisfactory results could be shown under a properly regulated system of skilled communal labour,—under the *guild system* in fact. Would the Government be prepared to build up and maintain an industrial organisation in India upon the communal or guild basis of production, if it could be shewn and proved that such a system, besides safeguarding the interests of a more equitable distribution of wealth (—failure to achieve which is the one outstanding and most vital weakness in the industrial system of the West),—if it could be shewn that this guild system of production and labour organisation would yield a fairly large and satisfactory output? But the whole policy of the Administration has hitherto been in the direction of undermining communalism and fostering a system of economic individualism—under which the guild organism disintegrates into a mere concourse of social and

economic atoms. And then, what appears to us to be an unfair comparison is sought instituted between the Indian system and the Western system,—unfair because the comparison is made not only on a purely quantitative basis (and not a combined basis of quantity and quality), but also by putting forward a wrong method of comparison,—because the comparison is made as between production by unaided and unorganised *individual* Indian workmen each working on his own account,—and production on the organised capitalistic system. Whereas the true basis of comparison should have been as between production conducted on a properly organised guild or communal system of labour-organisation, and production organised on the capitalistic and commercial system. We here purposely omit the question of the comparative worth or worthlessness of the goods produced under the two systems, the organised guild system and the organised capitalistic system,—we are here solely concerned with the *quantitative* standard of production—not the qualitative. And our contention is that no one is justified in adjudicating upon the respective claims of the Indian and the Western systems upon a wrong and what we consider to be an unfair basis of comparison as explained above, and then, on such basis, in pronouncing a verdict in favour of the modern system of industrialism, ushered in by the *Industrial Revolution*, as pointing to a superior state of industrial efficiency, and in invoking for the benefit of India the aid of the Western system as destined to lead her to the higher paths of national economic existence. Thus, in his valuable and well-known work—*The Industrial Organisation of an Indian Province*,⁵—Sir Theodore Morison makes the initial mistake of supposing that the Indian workman is essentially an individualist accustomed to work on his own account; whereas the truth of the matter is that through the direct operation of the disruptive forces set in motion, through a whole century and more, by the Administration whose whole sympathies and training pre-disposed it towards a system of social and economic life based upon the ideal of Individualism (and not communalism)—the Indian workman who delights in living, moving and having his being as a member of his own community and guild—is forced to live a life apart and play the uncongenial role of the occidental individualist,—and thus naturally under the conditions imposed on him finds himself going down and down under the waves of the organised capitalistic industrialism of the West. “To my mind,” says Sir T. Morison, “the most important difference between the two types of industrial organisation is this: In India, the labourer usually works on his own account, in Europe

5. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, W., 1906.

he is usually a hired man, working for an employer.....The great bulk of the labouring class of India are men who work on their own account and not for an employer. In addition to supplying the labour necessary for the production of wealth, they direct industry and undertake the risks of production—that is to say, they discharge the functions of the entrepreneur or business manager in Europe.....In Europe the labourer cannot begin to work without the permission of the employer; the land, the implements of production, and the raw material are all under lock and key and the labourer can only get access to them if he complies with the terms which an employer offers him" (*ibid.* pp. 4 and 7). And the conclusion to which all this leads is as follows:—"Between one society and the other, there is the same difference as there is between a mob and a highly disciplined army led by competent officers." (*ibid.* p. 6). The fundamental error in the foregoing argument is that it represents the Indian indigenous system as based on the labour of workmen who "work on their own account," while the workmen of the West are a drilled and disciplined body of wage-earners (and machine-slaves) working in the interests of quantitative (machine) production and, in the language of Sir T. Morison, "receiving wages irrespective of the price at which the employer sells the product of their industry." For the truth of the matter is that the *indigenous* industrial system was and is still (where it is not wholly extinguished) based on the communal or guild basis of labour-organisation and production, and not on the basis of the "workman working on his own account" (as erroneously represented), who is bound to go under at the first touch of competitive industrialism founded on capitalism. The whole force of the State having been hitherto, consciously or unconsciously, directed towards the undermining of the communal strength which has been pre-eminently the strength of the Indian workman, the cry has now gone forth that the Indian organisation of industry belongs to an "archaic" order of things, and that there is no hope for our Indian workmen under such organisation. The Indian workmen having been compelled to play the role of *individualists*, under the stress of forces set in motion by the working of an Individualist State policy, it is proclaimed by men occupying the highest official positions that India's industrial system is a system of "individual workmen working on their individual accounts," and that consequently and necessarily the total Indian output of wealth could not be as large as in a Society where industry is conducted on principles of efficient organisation. As pointed out by the able writer⁶ of an article

6. Major J. B. Keith. Mr. Keith acquired considerable experience of India during his service in the eighties of the last century in the Archaeological Department, is an ardent student of Indian Civilisation, and a frequent writer to the Press, both Indian and English, on questions relating to the conservation of Indian

entitled *Indian Political Economy* in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for July 1910 (pp. 23, 22)—“The Indian workman is more or less a helpless entity—a perfect child, if I may so use the expression—who lives in groups, thinks collectively, speaks collectively and acts collectively. Isolation is as foreign and hateful to him as is agreeable to the Anglo-Saxon, who lived in detached hamlets at the dawn of his civilization, and on whom all the advantages of Parish Councils are often thrown away. Corporate work in the Hindu sense he does not understand, and syndicates in industry are generally worked by bosses! Very different is the case with the Hindus, whom you meet in the courtyard of the palace, in the temple, at the immemorial fair, in the workshops, but always in groups.... The manual of John Stuart Mill, which is simply a rehash and an inferior one of Adam Smith, is simply out of place in India, nor do we think the more philosophic works of Jevons and Marshall suitable. The treatise of Professor Devas, of Stoneyhurst College, goes nearer to Indian wants. *India urgently wants a new economical manual.* It is a somewhat anomalous fact that while we are doing much to improve the position of the European toiler, and even to the extent of providing him with old age pensions, we have, outside an increase of wages in some cases, done little to improve either the position of the agriculturist or the artisan, *unless we think that the destruction of his home, community or guild is an advantage.* To me the fact is as anomalous or ironical as our effort to destroy the *natural collectivism* of India, a country that requires something of the kind, while the tendency of English legislation is to promote it in England, where it is an exotic plant!”

VI

His Excellency, Lord Pentland, Governor of Madras, presiding on January 6th, 1913 at the opening meeting of the Madras Economic Association at which Sir Theodore Morison delivered a most interesting lecture on Indian Economics?—is reported to have said:—“To the inhabitants of any country, the study of Economics is essential, and to India, I should think of all countries; no country can surely offer a wider field for the study of Economics. It offers a very wide scope for investigation. Let me suggest only one question. Is the econo-

Art and Architecture, and Ideals of Indian culture and civilisation. The attention of the reader is here drawn to some letters of Mr. Keith which have appeared in the *Dawn*, and also to two of our articles appearing in the October (Part II) and November (Part I), 1912 issues of this Journal.

7. A full report of Sir Theodore Morison's lecture and His Excellency, Lord Pentland's opening remarks will be found in the *Madras Standard* for January 17, 1913.

mic future of India to be based, as it has been in the past, almost wholly on agriculture ; or, on the other, is India upon the threshold of an industrial revolution comparable in any way to that through which many other civilised nations have passed and are passing at the present time ? This and many other problems need investigating *before any real public opinion can be formed upon them.*" This appears to us to be eminently sound advice. For it keeps the door open for investigation and does not inculcate the immediate marching forward to a pre-determined goal,—a goal determined more or less by one's previous economic training and *economic sympathies*. And, first of all, there is need to investigate whether the alternative is, as His Excellency lays down—between agriculture on existing Indian lines, and an Industrial Revolution. Our suggestion is that there is another alternative open to India ; for in our attempt to tackle the Indian Industrial problem and finally to decide on a wise course of action, there is need to take into vital account the twofold fact that (1) India through the whole of her glorious past possessed a system of industrial production, technically known as the *Guild system*; and (2) that Indian political economy aided by Indian social institutions succeeded in achieving a marvellous degree of economic prosperity, which is amply borne out by the lithic records and by the existence of great and populous Indian cities, and which finally gave birth to the ever-memorable phrase—"The wealth of Ormuz and of Ind."⁸ In the rage for developing along individualistic lines, with the aid of the Machine, the thought might not occur to us that an alternative system of industrial production might exist insuring not only a fairly large and satisfactory output but also a superior quality of production, whilst guaranteeing a more stable economic and social order (begotten of a more equitable distribution of goods produced, among the whole community) than what is possible under the system of industrial production ushered in by the Industrial Revolution. All this is put forward as a suggestion to be worked out by careful and patient investigation ; for as Mr. Havell points out in his Paper—"The social and industrial fabric which we should build to justify our rule in India must be a fairer one than either Europe or India can show. We cannot hope to blunder through *only with our Western experience*. The combined experience of East and West is essential for success." But if in the pride of an exclusive knowledge of the industrial conditions which have prevailed in Europe

8. For a good summary of facts relating to the question of the comparative prosperity of India under a system of guild-labour organisation and production, see pp. 110-112 of Part III of the *Dawn* for 1910, and pp. 204-205 of Part I of the *Dawn* for 1912.

or in England in the course of the last 150 years (for that is the period covered by the *Industrial Revolution*), we simply slur over the economic past of India and her vast economic prosperity and greatness founded on a different order of industrial organisation, and then proceed to argue that under the régime of a coming industrial revolution, a higher order of economic life would emerge,—the plea for investigation for which both His Excellency, Lord Pentland and Mr. Havell ask would remain wholly unheeded. Why should a responsible and beneficent Government shrink from investigation into the realities of Indian life, both as they have been in the past and as they have been continued down to the present; and from investigation also into circumstances and conditions under which, during the last 150 years or so, the old order has been changing and giving place to the new? Why should the authorities shrink from a regular system of investigation which might even point to a more excellent way of handling the industrial problems of India;—which might even possibly lead them to discover that the industrial *prosperity* of India, in the shape of a superior quantity and quality of production and of a more equitable distribution—could be more satisfactorily secured under a system of production on a communal (guild) basis, than under a system which draws its inspiration either from Individualism (which encourages exploitation by the economically strong of the economically weak, leading to the evils of class-preponderance and industrial warfare, although the process might be dignified with the title of 'natural selection' and 'survival of the fittest'),—or from (State) Collectivism under which the State becomes the sole monopolist and director of Industries, and which might usher in the reign of a bureaucratic industrialism and a bureaucratic Servile State⁹? Why should our responsible statesmen allow it to be assumed that the Industrial Revolution represented a higher stage of economic (and social) existence; and that consequently, "our task is only to guard against the evils that our Western system enables us to foresee?" Are there not thinkers enough in England and in Western Europe who look upon the modern industrial regime inaugurated by the *Indus-*

9. "The social order of today with its huge development of expropriated labour seems doomed to accumulate catastrophic tensions. Bureaucratic schemes of establishing the regular life-long subordination of a labouring class enlivened though they may be by frequent inspection, disciplinary treatment during seasons of unemployment, compulsory temperance, free medical attendance and a cheap and shallow elementary education, fail to satisfy the restless cravings in the heart of man. These are cravings that even the baffling methods of the most ingeniously worked Conciliation Boards cannot permanently restrain. The drift of any Servile State must be towards a class revolt, paralysing sabotage, and a general strike. The more rigid and complete the Servile State becomes, the more thorough will be its ultimate failure."—Mr. H. G. Wells in the *Great State*, pp. 31-32; see footnote I.

trial Revolution as an unmixed evil, and stigmatise it as the reign of Plutocracy and Capitalism under which the general well-being of the community finds at best only a second and subordinate place? Why should a responsible Government proceed to take sides and definitely commit itself to a line of policy which should hasten instead of retarding the regime of Industrial Revolution, when we find that in Western Europe the whole question of the stability of societies which have passed through their Industrial Revolution is still being debated with desperate fervour; and when further, as is here suggested, an alternative hypothesis of an industrial system based upon the Guild and the Community—still remains to be worked out in India? The Industrial Revolution might have, as Sir Theodore Morison says in his Madras lecture, "in England obliterated almost every trace of the previous economic organisations;" but why should it be assumed that in India they are bound to die, unless the Administration, by the enforcement of an antagonistic or unsympathetic economic policy seek to undermine (—and the work of such undermining unfortunately has been and is being systematically carried on)—those communal organisations, the laws of whose life and growth, if scientifically investigated by competent men undisturbed by economic or political sympathies, may yet open out a vital and glorious chapter in the history of civilised existence, and for ever dissipate the theory that the stage of an *Industrial Revolution* represents a higher level of economic and social progress? We plead that it is not right that India should be dragged along the chariot wheels of Western Europe, so that as Western Europe passes from one stage of economic and social existence to another, India must perforce tread the same wearisome steps, apparently on the complaisant assumption that every such stage is a stage along a line of progressive advance in economics and sociology,—from communalism to individualism (Industrial Revolution)—and thence to (State) collectivism—and thence to nobody knows where—may be to a Dark Age,—an age of Social Revolution marked by the collapse and disintegration of existing societies through the emergence of two giant sinister forces—the Plutocracy and the Proletariat—as some Western thinkers of eminence adumbrate,—or to another Age of Communal Life, but without its drawbacks, because crowned by the superstructure of a wider and renovated National Existence built upon solid communal foundations.

VII

(A)

On the whole, then, taking a wide general view of affairs, there is eminently the need for investigation, and the need also for taking up that sympathetic attitude of mind which would welcome and make possible such investigation,—not certainly the spirit of assumption

which would regard every economic sequence (—so often determined by or hastened by the operation of legal causes which follow the lines of a State economic policy) as an inevitable step in economic advance. In India at any rate, whatever may have been the case in England or in Western Europe, it is needful to inquire whether the progressive decline or deterioration of the indigenous economic order has been due purely to economic causes (such as normally explain the decay of one type of industry by the competition of another), or whether not only economic but also, and perhaps in a far greater degree, legal issues are involved, and *the latter gave a decided twist to the former*. All this awaits careful investigation and demands a scientific attitude of the mind which would welcome such investigation—not the spirit of assumption which would hold every sequence in the economic life of a people as a necessary and inevitable stage in economic development. When the Hon'ble E. S. Montagu, the present Under-Secretary of State for India in his memorable Budget Speech in the House of Commons (July 26, 1911) spoke of the inevitableness for India of the industrial revolution, the *underlying argument* which gave weight to his pronouncement was that the inevitableness would result from purely economic causes, and would in no way be the outcome of legal forces or a State economic policy. Thus we read in Mr. Montagu's Speech :—“There are also signs of further *development* which has its analogy in the industrial history of the West. I hope the House will not pause to deplore the risks of evil, for if the industrial revolution has begun, nothing can stop it. You might just as well try to stop the incoming tide with your outstretched hands. Our task is rather to guard against the evils that our Western experience enables us to foresee.” Our dispute with the opinion of Mr. Montagu lies in this that he represents the industrial order that is emerging into view as determined by purely economic issues, and not economic and legal issues combined,—*the legal issues giving a decisive twist to the economic issues*. And if the point we have raised be decided in our favour, then the argument about the ‘inevitableness’ of an Indian industrial revolution would fall to the ground, and the whole issue would centre round the question of the rightness or wrongness of the State Policy which is adopted, a policy which might and does vary from time to time, as we find from a study of the economic history of England itself. Where the policy that is adopted is sound, we might well accept the position as being helpful to a country’s economic and social prosperity, to the well-being in fact of the *whole community* (and not of any particular class or classes thereof). If, however, the policy that is adopted is at bottom unsound, it ought to be reversed, and legal forces should have to be brought into operation to

check any advance along the lines of an industrial revolution. This is the crux of the whole question ; but the real issues are confused if from the very start it is taken for granted, that the new industrial order for which the heart of Sir Theodore Morison and of a whole host of Indian administrators crave marks a STAGE which is in the first place inevitable, because of its being brought about (as it is tacitly assumed and argued) by purely economic causes, and secondly, because it is held to mark a real economic advance. 89358

(B)

Here we plead for investigation—investigation into the pros and cons of the communal system of industrial production and distribution which has hitherto prevailed in India, and which has been or is being supplanted by a new industrial regime not as the result, as we contend, of wholly economic, but also in a far greater degree of legal, causes ;—we plead for such investigation which, in our opinion, may yet lead to a greater opportunity for all of us to comprehend the essential issues of a very complicated problem. In his recent Madras lecture,¹⁰ to which we have already drawn attention, we find Sir Theodore Morison making the following candid admission :—“ The economics of India are at present practically a *terra incognita*, an unknown region. It has not been explored at all. The economists of the West surveyed with most considerable accuracy and fullness the industrial life of Western Europe, and though much work still remains to be done, yet there are a multitude of people engaged in making researches and tabulating statistics and making special enquiries regarding industrial organisation, and I think we may say that the main features of the science have by now been established ; and with regard to that industrial organisation certain laws springing from the conditions of European life have been established. But those laws do not hold good and do not pretend to be good for India. But there was a time, I frankly recognise, when the economists of the West made pretensions of their science. It was claimed that the laws of political economy had a universal application as well as the laws of chemistry. But we are wiser now. That pretension is no longer made, and we recognise that before we can have anything like a complete science of economics, an immense amount of work has to be done in describing the conditions and stating the laws of countries which are *in a different condition of economic development to those which have passed through their industrial revolution.*” In the major portions of the statements we have given above, there is a candid confession of error, and also a promise of amend-

^{10.} See footnote 7.

ment. But the concluding portion (which we have italicized) vitiates the whole, because we find there the tacit *assumption* that the stage of industrial revolution through which Western Europe has passed represents a *higher* and an *inevitable* stage of economic and social development ; whereas the whole burden of our contention is that the so-called 'inevitableness' has not been wholly economic, but brought about also by the operation of legal causes and State Policy ; and, secondly, that with regard to the superiority of the present economic structure of countries which have passed through their industrial revolution, a considerable and growing volume of opinion led by thinkers and reformers of high eminence is in favour either of upsetting, or at any rate of undermining, the bases of that structure. Sir Theodore Morison's position is made quite clear when in the course of the same lecture he indulged in the following *obiter dictum* :—"I do not think that you will discover an entirely new science of political economy. There is no political economy for India and a different science for the West. On the contrary what I think we shall find is that whereas certain economic conditions in Europe have resulted in the statement of certain economic laws, we shall find in India another set of laws peculiar to them to hold good in that stage of development. You will find that you have different branches of the science of economics which hold good for the particular stage of industrial revolution which the country has reached." Thus, everywhere there is this recurring note (of assumption)—(1) that the Industrial Revolution is inevitable ; (2) that this inevitableness would be the effect of purely economic causes ; (3) that those countries which have passed through their Industrial Revolution are on a higher platform of development, economic and social ; and (4) that India not having yet passed through her stage of Industrial Revolution, the work of investigation for Indian economists must mainly concern itself with noting and recording with accuracy the still existing Indian economic institutions and forms, which under the pressure of purely economic forces (as contra-distinguished from legal forces set in motion by Indian economic State Policy) must sooner or later give way before the onrush of a thrice welcome Industrial Revolution.

(C)

Such is the attitude of Sir Theodore Morison which must be held to explain accurately the position which he takes up, as he does in his Madras lecture, with regard to the system of communal industrial organisations—the *Indian Guilds*—under which India's material prosperity was assured for a long, long time, and which, as we contend, through the impact of forces set in motion by individualistic ideals of

State legislation has been sadly undermined and has deteriorated. Thus we read the following:—"Another thing which I hear your Society is already taking an interest in is about industrial guilds. Industrial guilds¹¹ appear to have existed in India as they did in Europe, and possibly you may discover traces of them and information regarding them before they disappear on the coming of the Industrial Revolution." Contrast with the above the following proposals submitted for consideration in a very important contribution on the problem of *The Indian Workman* by Major J. B. Keith, M.R.A.S., who during his service in India was in actual and intimate touch with Indian Workmen and whose persistent but unobtrusive advocacy of Indian Labour on lines understood by Indigenous India merits far greater recognition than it has succeeded in obtaining. In a Brochure¹² published in England in 1894, we find Major Keith writing as follows:— "The time seems opportune for Government undertaking an Industrial Survey. The first duty of the Survey would be to ascertain the aspirations of the workmen of India. They are necessarily the best judges of the system most adapted to their needs, or of the evils that hinder their own welfare, and of many questions that can only be solved by their traditional experience. An Industrial Survey would have to give due weight to the prejudices and predilections of the men, and keep continually in view that they are dealing with a class altogether different to European workmen, and accustomed to a different rate of progression. One of the first duties of the Survey would be to obtain a complete list of the "traditional callings" and to place on record all that could be gleaned of their written and unwritten law bearing on the rights of members, the amassing and disposal of corporate property, and the judicial functions of the guild. It would be able to learn the capacity of the men, the system of instruction, and the extent to which a guild on an improved method might be entrusted with the imparting of educational knowledge, and this without resort to external colleges, technical institutes and art schools of design. We are alongside a race, the possessors of a living, not a dead art and industry, whose roots lie deep in the system Western statesmen seek to eradicate. Private enterprise which would convert a community into a set of private jobbers is a condition no one would recommend who knows Indian Workmen. An Industrial

11. For a very able exposition of the Guild System of India and Ceylon, the student is referred to Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy's *The Indian Craftsman*, published by Messrs. Probsthain & Co., 41 Great Russel Street, London, W.C., 1909.

12. Entitled "The Indian Problem in relation to Indian Workmen": Published at the Aberdeen Journal Office, 1894.

Survey of India is far more important than a Temperance or Opium Commission, for we are dealing with the welfare of a law-abiding class well-affected to our rule, who in ancient times materially assisted both the legislator and the administrator by their self-governing *communities*, which were channels of protection, instruments of far-reaching charity and of contentment. Throughout the world there are loud wails against the middleman, the parasite of a machine age, who lives on the brains and works of others. His encroachments are doubly felt by the Indian Workshop of today; and the complaints to me were specially directed against him. In the old communal associations of India labourers were a species of Capital, and industry was rendered coincident with self-interest. I shall assume that community life, a retention of the old guild system, forms the basis of an Industrial Survey adapted and modified of course to meet modern requirements. It would be a mockery of the hour if we uprooted those communal associations which have survived for thousands of years in India, at a time when European economists like Mr. Charles Booth in his "Life and Labour" are demanding State-interference. A MORE COMMUNAL ORGANISATION IS THE DEMAND OF INDIAN WORKMEN."¹³

In England a movement has been set on foot under the name of the *Arts and Crafts Movement* which has for its avowed object the restoration of the Guild system generally, as a solution of the problems presented by Modern Industrialism. Considerable efforts are being expended with a view to discover practical ways and means of re-establishing the Guild in England, and the literature on the subject is also growing. Among the leaders of the movement who are still alive may be mentioned the honoured names of Mr. Arthur J. Penty, the author of a most valuable monograph on *The Restoration of the Guild System*¹⁴; and Mr. C. R. Ashbee M.A., F.R.I.B.A., the author of another and an equally valuable work, *Craftsmanship in Competitive Industry: Being a Record of Workshops of the Guild of Handicraft*.¹⁵ These leaders by no means agree to accept the economic formula uttered by so many as a truism that the stage of industrial revolution which obliterated in Western Europe the community system of industrial production must be a necessary or an inevitable stage in the economic history of countries which have not known that stage. Thus we

13. For a more detailed exposition, see the article, *The Problem of the Indian Workmen: Major Keith's Notable Contribution on the Subject* (and specially the Sections IV and V of the article) in the November 1912 issue of this Journal.

14. Published by Messrs. Swan Sonnenschein & Co., London, 1906.

15. Published by the Essex House Press, Campden, Gloucester, England; and obtainable by direct application from the Author at 37, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, S.W., England.

read in Mr. Ashbee's "Foreword" to Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy's *Indian Craftsman*¹⁶—a work which should be in the hands of every student of Indian Economics—"The five hundred years that have passed between our Middle Ages and the growth of the great cities of machine industry may have proved that the destruction of the Western village community was inevitable, but it has not proved that where the village community still exists, it need necessarily be destroyed. Indeed, we are finding out in the West that if the village tradition were still living it could still be utilized ; we are even seeking to set up something like it in its place. *For the great city of mechanical industry has come to a point when its disintegration is inevitable. There are signs that the devolution has already begun both in England and America.* The cry of "back to the land," the plea for a "more reasonable life," the revival of the handicrafts, the education of hand and eye, the agricultural revival, the German "ackerbau," the English "Small Holding," our technical schools, all these things are indications of a need for finding something if not to take the place of the village community, at least to bring once again into life those direct, simple, human and out-of-door things of which mechanical industry has deprived our working population." And again—"The English craftsman and the English village are passing or have passed away ; and it is only in quite recent times that we have discovered that they, too, are the counterpart, one of the other. Industrial machinery, blindly misdirected, has destroyed them both, and recent English land legislation has been trying, with Allotment and Small Holdings Acts, to re-establish the broken village life. Those of us, however, that have studied the Arts and Crafts in their town and country conditions, are convinced that the Small Holding Problem is possible of solution only by some system of co-operation, and if some forms of craftsmanship, are simultaneously revived and added to it. It is probable that in this effort of the Western artists, workmen and reformers for the reconstruction of society, the East can help us even more than we shall help the East. The spiritual reawakening in the West is appealing for a social condition in which each man shall have not only an economic but a spiritual status in the Society in which he lives, or as some of us would prefer to call it, he should have a stable economic status in order that he may have a spiritual status as well. It is such a condition that still exists in India. It is a curious and suggestive thought that the spiritual reawakening in England which goes now by the name of the higher culture, now by the name of

16. See footnote 11.

Socialism, which has been voiced in our time by Ruskin and Morris, which has expressed itself in movements like the Arts and Crafts, or is revealed in the inspired paintings of the Pre-Raphaelites, *demands such a condition as in India our commercialism is destroying.*"

Enough has been said to demonstrate that the path of Indian evolution lies in properly estimating and co-ordinating all that is best in the ideals and civilisation of both the East and the West; and that the plea put forth by Mr. Havell in his remarkable Paper, for a better recognition of the ideals of Indian Civilisation in the governance of this country, stands on a most unshakable foundation. The battle-cry of 'a gradual union and fusion of Indian and European ideals and culture'—which must signalise the Georgian era of Indian history must be the one objective towards which all Indian statesmanship should for the present be directed—and there must be a definite and determined turning away from a course of policy which would drag India along with Western Europe, (as the latter passes from one stage of socio-economic evolution to another), under the belief and assumption that such development, because it has been found necessary in the case of Western Europe, must also represent for all other countries, the gradual stages through which their course of progress must be marked. We associate ourselves whole-heartedly with the suggestions for reform adumbrated in Mr. Havell's Paper and beg to reiterate our conviction that the future of India along the lines desired by His Majesty the King-Emperor could only be assured by a real attempt made to break through the present *tradition* of the Services, which, it cannot be gainsaid, is hardly sympathetic towards, if not positively antagonistic to, ideals of Indian civilisation and culture. A better mode of recruitment of the Higher Services (including the Educational) which would ensure a proper appreciation of such ideals by the holders of high offices in this country, and further, a systematic leavening of the Universities with the higher thought and culture both of India and Europe—these two seem to us to represent the first steps towards that progressive reform which is to ensure the successful introduction of the Georgian era of British Government in this country.

Errata: In this article, on p. 24, line 2, read *sought to be instituted* for *sought instituted*; also, p. 26, line 29, for *January 6th* read *January 16th*; also, p. 32, line 28, for *hat* read *that*.

Errata: In the December, 1912 issue of the *Dawn*; Part I, p. 226, line 33, for **क्षण** and **क्षणस्त्र** substitute **क्षीण** and **क्षीणस्त्र** respectively.⁶

PART III

SECTION I : INDIAN EDUCATIONAL AND ALLIED MOVEMENTS

THE QUESTION OF AN INDIAN LINGUA FRANCA AND OF THE INDIAN VERNACULARS

I

Many people in India seem to be under a strange misconception as regards the meaning of the phrase, *lingua franca*. A lingua franca is a language which serves as a means of exchange of thought, oral or written, between people of one and the same country or continent, where several languages do exist. So, for example, Greek was at one time a lingua franca, and French, we may say, serves up to this time as a lingua franca between people of different nationalities and languages in Europe. Such lingua franca can, naturally, be learnt and more or less mastered only by a comparatively small minority of the educated classes, merchants, travellers, etc. A lingua franca does not interfere with or dispute the right of the existence of other languages, of everybody's mother-tongue; nothing of the sort. The adoption of a lingua franca does by no means require Indians to neglect or even abandon the existing vernaculars: and undoubtedly it would be a great mistake if those who work for the spread of any Indian vernacular (e.g., Hindi) as a lingua franca should try to starve out the vernaculars. They would spoil their cause themselves, because no right-thinking person, loving his mother-tongue, would consent to let his children grow up without its knowledge. No lingua franca,—no Indian lingua franca—will or can be a substitute for any vernacular. And therefore the primary school where girls and boys have enough to do with the study of their mother-tongue and other subjects is not the place to teach the lingua franca. The places where it should be taught are Secondary Schools, High Schools, Colleges, etc. I am of opinion that the vernaculars, or better, mother-tongues, are invaluable national goods, and that a natural and sound education can only be gained through their being the medium of instruction in schools and colleges. For this reason I recommend the vernaculars to be used for Higher Education. In order not to be misunderstood, I should like to point out that I do not say a word against the study of English by Indians. I believe the better an Indian who takes up English studies it, the more he will appreciate his own mother-tongue. I am also by no means of opinion that people of one country should not

learn from those of another. But if changes here and there are thought absolutely necessary and foreign ideas are to be introduced, the latter must be studied carefully and well digested and assimilated, *i.e.*, in our case, *Indianised*, in order to become the nation's own property.

II

My position is this: Indians of all creeds should cultivate and develop their vernaculars with burning zeal to get even their Higher Education imparted through them, and at the same time begin to learn one particular Indian vernacular in order to make it the lingua franca of India, which will be understood by the leaders of the different communities in South and North, in East and West, of this country. That India needs such a lingua franca surely nobody will deny, and the proposed adoption of *Hindi* (being the Aryan language already spoken by about 80 millions) would certainly be the best. Hindi as a lingua franca would then hold the place which English, to some extent, holds to-day in India,—only it would be much more natural and national to use it than English. Among the Indian vernaculars, Hindi seems to have the best chances as besides being already spoken by about 80 millions, it also resembles Hindustani (*Urdu*), which is also widely known all over India, closely in grammar and has, to not a small extent, the same vocabulary, at least as far as colloquial language is concerned.*

* In this connection the reader is invited to consider the following weighty remarks of a speaker at the *Third Hindi Literary Conference* held last December in Calcutta :—

"The Conference wants that the Hindi language, as it is spoken, should be Indianised, that is, should be made the *lingua franca* of India. All Moslems and Hindus know well that the language so widely prevalent in India is not pure Urdu (Hindustani) nor pure Hindi. It is a mixture of both: when it is written in Urdu characters it is called Urdu, and when in Hindi characters it is called Hindi. The conflict then turns upon the "characters" or the script of their common language. The Conference urges that it is easier for our Moslem brethren to learn and read the Hindi characters than it is for the Hindus to learn and read the Urdu characters. Hindi characters provide legible reading, while the Urdu fast handwriting does not. Another plea in favour of the adoption of Hindi characters is that the Indian peoples speaking other Indian vernaculars would more easily learn Hindi characters than the Urdu, and they have begun doing so. In the course of a few years, it is believed, these peoples will be able to universalise the Hindi characters and Hindi language in their respective provinces, for the Nagri-Hindi characters are not unfamiliar to them. The Moslems, therefore, should consider this question dispassionately. They are not asked to abandon their Urdu language and Urdu characters, but are requested to know and use in addition, the Hindi alphabet, though not the language; for the language is practically the same. If we do not adopt this scheme, then it is possible we may have in near future to learn and adopt the Roman script as the general and universal script for all India which will make the situation worse, for our Moslem brethren as well as the Hindu community will not forsake their scripts, and they

III

With regard to the question of a common script or alphabet for the Indian vernaculars, I must reject the Roman character because there is no reason whatsoever to strip them of the natural, becoming and thoroughly suitable garment, so to speak, and disfigure them by an artificial alphabet. The Indian languages in Roman script would look as ugly as Indians do in European dress. The Indian alphabet or alphabets are much clearer or more distinct than any of the European ones. If one knows the letters of an Indian alphabet well, one can with no or little guidance correctly pronounce the words; but in English, for instance, one has to learn to pronounce almost every word separately, though one may know the alphabet well. So why exchange something better for something inferior? *But the adoption of the Roman script would positively mean a loss, as it would cut the Indians off from their past, from the spiritual inheritance of their ancestors.* That many European nations adopted the Latin or Roman script is no reason to do away with the Indian scripts. The Western nations which adopted the Roman script did so because they had none of their own.

Why will Indians have everything as in Europe? What do they gain by their imitations? When I lived in the Central Provinces, I met here and there Indian gentlemen who dressed half or completely in European style. When I remonstrated with them, they answered—“We are educated.” European books, stockings, trousers, collars, ties and a pith-helmet and a contempt for their mother-tongue make for many “modern,” “up-to-date,” Indians, their idea of education. I should like to say with Dr. Coomaraswamy : “Our imitations, whether in Swadeshi Factories or in our lives, of things European, are and must always be for ourselves socially and industrially disintegrating, and for the rest of the world wholly valueless.” By the parasitic tendency of modern “educated” Indians of all creeds, India has lost already or is in danger to lose much of what would distinguish it and make it great before other nations,—only to mention the Fine Arts, such as, as Indian Music, Architecture, Painting, and so forth. If this process goes on and Indians are indifferent lookers on, when their own languages and scripts are about to be spoilt or lost, it will make them poorer from day to day, and before long, strangers in their own home and country.

Nilgiris, South India.

ALBERT GRAU

will be required to learn an additional double script, for, verily the Roman script is a twofold one and we shall have to accommodate ourselves to using it in expressing our thoughts in our vernaculars.”—*Editor, Dawn.*

ANNUAL COMPOSITIVE PRIZE FOR HINDI

[Offered by the Panjab Hindu Sabha]

With a view to promote and encourage the study of the Hindi language and literature by the graduates and undergraduates of the Panjab University, the Panjab Hindu Sabha, Lahore, has decided to award an annual prize of either Rs. 100/- (eighty) in cash, or a gold medal of that value, to the writer of the best essay in Hindi on a subject to be selected by the Executive Committee of the

The competition for the prize shall be open to all graduates of the University and of not more than three years' standing, as also to all students reading in any of the Arts Colleges in the Panjab.

Every candidate is required to submit, not later than the 28th February, his essay on the subject selected for the year, to the Secretary, Panjab Hindu Sabha, Lahore, under a *nom de plume*, or a distinctive motto. He must forward at the same time in a separate envelope his real name together with the *nom de plume*, or the motto used by him.

The essay should be written in easy Hindi and should consist of not more than 30 pages and not more than 50 pages of foolscap size, each page containing about 25 lines.

The essay should be written legibly and only on one side of the paper.

Every candidate must state the sources upon which he has drawn the facts.

Every candidate must further send in his own declaration along with his manuscript essay, affirming that the essay is his *own unaided* composition.

A Board of Examiners will be appointed every year by the Executive Committee of the Sabha to adjudicate upon the merits of the essays submitted by the candidates. In adjudging the essays submitted, preference shall always be given to the essay which gives satisfactory evidence of the writer's powers of research or investigation, although regard will be had also to the writer's style and method of treatment of the subject.

The decision of the Board shall be final.

The copyright in the essays submitted shall vest in the Panjab Hindu Sabha, who shall have the right to publish them at their discretion in full, or in portions of them, and to sell the publications at a moderate price or to distribute them free.

The name of the Prize-Winner shall be published in the newspapers and the prize will be awarded every year on the occasion either of the Annual Session of the Panjab Hindu Conference, or of the Panjab Hindu Sabha.

If for any year no essay be received, or the essays received be pronounced by the Board to be of not sufficient merit to deserve the prize, it will be carried over to any subsequent year in accordance with such decision as may be taken by the Executive Committee of the Panjab Hindu Sabha.

The subject for the Essay for the year, 1943, will be— "Religious Significance of the Hindi Language and Script and the best methods of popularising and encouraging their Study and Use."

THE DAWN
MARCH 1919

The Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine

Part I : Indiana

1. Town-Planning and Indian Ideals
2. The Indian City : City-Planning in the Indian Scheme of National Life

Part II : Topics for Discussion

1. Machine Labour *versus* Manual Labour

Part III

Section I : Indian Educational and Allied Movements.

- I. "Delhi, the Motropolis of India :" Sir Bradford Leslie and Mr. E. B. Havell.
 - i. Introductory : Summary of Sir Bradford Leslie's Proposals about the New Delhi
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That which is ever-permanent in one mode of Being is the TRUTH.—Sankara

VOL. XVI
No. 2

} FEBRUARY 1913

WHOLE
No. 182

PART I: INDIANA

TOWN-PLANNING AND INDIAN IDEALS

(Reprinted from "The Panjabee" of Lahore, November 5, 1912)

[Note by the Editor.—In drawing the notice of the reader to the following reprint from "The Panjabee" of Lahore, we would request his attention to an article entitled "The City in Relation to the Village: The Indian Scheme of National Life," which appeared in the October, 1912 issue of this journal and upon which, evidently, as the reader of the *Dawn* article will be able to see, our contemporary's valuable contribution is based. We have to thank him for bringing up the subject and should have very much wished if our other contemporaries had shown an equal readiness to discuss the essential problems of Indian Sociology. We would not much care about the actual conclusions that may be arrived at, but would value more a change in the direction of an attempt at a deeper analysis and understanding of all Indian problems in the light of *ideals, indigenous as well as exotic*, both of which (and not either exclusively) must have obviously their sway in the fashioning of the future of India. As it is, it appears that *some* at any rate of the higher officials of the country, by reason of the overwhelming responsibility that naturally devolves upon them, are eager and anxious for new and independent light thrown upon Indian questions, and they naturally value and welcome more, we are afraid, than the leaders of the people themselves any important contribution towards the deeper understanding of the fundamentals of Indian Problems (which are indissolubly bound up with the National Character of the Indian People)—if only to be able accurately to frame and develop an Indian *Policy*, in relation to the manifold questions affecting the lives and happiness and destiny of the Indian people,

We have to note in conclusion that some at any rate of the difficulties and points suggested and raised in the *Panjabee* article have been, as it appears to us, satisfactorily met and solved by our talented colleague, Professor Rabindra Narayan Ghosh M.A., in an elaborate article,—*The Indian City : City-Planning in the Indian Scheme of National Life*, which we have great pleasure in publishing in this number. We must inform our readers, however, that that article is but a continuation of Professor Ghosh's previous contribution in this magazine, *The City in Relation to the Village : the Indian Scheme of National Life*, to which we have already adverted.]

So much interest has been created about the architectural style of new Delhi, that various side questions are also being discussed. One of these is the Indian idea of cities and towns as it was and as it ought to be. Town-planning in ancient India is a subject about which it is difficult to know anything very definite. That great cities, beautiful, comfortable and flourishing, did exist in ancient and mediæval Hindu India is quite clear from the Epics and Puranas. Making due allowance for poetic exaggeration, we must hold that the ideals of life and the achievements of kings as they are depicted found expression in appropriate and corresponding modes of town-planning and building. In connection with the building of the new Delhi much has been written about artistic ideals. But there are also other ideas worthy of notice, if we are not wholly to forget what is called the national side of the question. It is accepted that cities and towns should be planned to suit the best ideals of the people taken as a whole. What those ideals are and how they are to be represented in the thousand and one details of town-planning does not, however, appear to be very clear. But if only broad roads, foot-paths, and big buildings, large compounds, tramcars, motor-services, parks, squares and promenades constitute the latest criteria whereby to appraise a modern big city, it is evident that such criteria have relation to the life, the activities and ideals of modern men who live in it and regard it as a visible symbol of the life of the nation. There is no doubt that whatever knowledge of town-planning the Indians had in the most flourishing periods of their history, very little of it have been preserved, and even if preserved, it could not probably be quite applicable to the conditions of the present day. For the ideals and activities of the Indian people have changed and are changing. Nevertheless, in relation to very broad facts and tendencies, it may be said that there is such a thing as the traditional or national method. For although we may not succeed in planning and building Delhi just as Ayudhya of old or as mediæval Ujjain or Vijayanagar was built, yet certain characteristics which made those cities famous may profitably be adopted today. For the people today, to some extent, represent and inherit the traditions of the people that had Ayudhya (or other cities) for their capital. So far, then, as Indian ideals of life and activity have remained unchanged, and so far as such ideals (which are strongly persistent in spite of opposing influences) are concerned, it seems that modern Indian cities ought to make an effort to retain them. But since not very

many are anxious at the present day to live in the light of ideals, few, indeed, are active supporters of the principle that city-building should be carried out in harmony with the traditional ideals of the people.

Within the last two or three generations many changes have taken place not only in the forms of life of cultured Indians, but also in their activities and aims. The modern dwellings in cities and towns of educated men, of merchants, of artisans and working men, do not resemble those of a century ago or of the classic age. It is modern commerce and industrial influences that have greatly affected the activities and aims of the people, and have introduced changes in ideals of city-building. Having regard, therefore, to the rapid changes that are taking place, it is not possible to suggest off-hand a plan or adaptation with a view to conserve national or traditional ideals in the arrangements of the New Delhi. We have to note that in smaller municipal towns, the reluctance of the people to admit more space and light into houses, to widen the lanes and to extend the urban area has been overcome easily and followed by very good effects. The benefits of peace, security of life and property, and individual freedom have expanded the vision of the people and they have welcomed the *modern* regime of comforts and facilities of life. How far the present change in outlook would be in consonance with the traditional aims and ideals, may not for the present be discussed. It is very likely that after some time the tendency now visible to adapt oneself to rapid changes will be checked. Already there is the complaint that the development of the rural areas is neglected and that people are migrating into towns and cities. In Europe such a phenomenon has been deplored, though the importance attached to commerce and industries seems to justify the migration. What is called communal culture can hardly be grafted on to the foundations of our modern commercial cities. Admitting the defects of modern cities from aesthetic and idealistic points of view, it cannot be denied that they serve a legitimate purpose and in their turn tend to mould aesthetics and ideals of life. The ideas and activities of city-bred and village-bred individuals brought up amidst civic and communal environments are widely divergent. Yet they act and react upon one another, and on the whole there is a progressive change or adaptation of ideals in every department of activity, and therefore the building of cities and towns can be no exception to the new order that is emerging.

A New Delhi may or may not represent the traditional ideals of the people. It will probably represent the present struggle for the attainment of a definite ideal which is going on in the country. The future will probably witness the birth of a new ideal, seeing that there has been a new order of life and events which is dominating the lives of our people. But for the moment as regards the question of the expression of the old communal ideal of life in the building of our cities and towns, very little can be said definitely. Those that populate cities probably most feel the need of such expression, but what helps to populate and expand cities and towns is modern industry and commerce and these do not follow communal ideals. Mr. Frederic

Harrison has described Western city-life as showing a "low stage of organic life." It is bereft of patriotism, religion and art. It is ever changing, loose in organization and casual in form. The commercial city has no founder, no traditions, no patrons or saints. It comes in the wake of the speculative builder or the Company that wants quick returns. There is no doubt that these features are, to some extent, to be found in Indian commercial and industrial cities; but unless the traditional ideals and influences of life are wholly to be without effect in India, city building and expansion will not, we trust, be altogether alien in design. If we want to see built today an Ayudhya, a Hasthina, or a Dwarka, or anything like them as found in the descriptions that have created so deep-rooted an affection for them, we must also restore the forms and activities of life that supported those cities; and this, it will be found, is practically impossible. Moreover, we see that in our pilgrim-centres and other holy places, which retain, perhaps, some corrupt and debased modifications of the original ideals, very little attempt is nowadays made to bring about hygienic and other improvements. Again, some of the more modern temples have been built on unorthodox lines, and in Bombay and Calcutta one might occasionally see the inside of rich shrines lighted with electric lamps. Sometimes also idols are found to have been painted and the presents and offerings made to the deity also have changed in character. There is, however, one strong reservation to be made in regard to this question of national ideals for India. The changes to which we have referred are believed to be mere surface changes, since only a fraction of the people have been directly brought under the new influences. The bulk of the population live in rural areas and have not made their influence felt. When the day comes for most of them to be educated although ever so little, and brought under modern influences, what force they may then exert in the way of reviving the old communal ideals and traditional forms, remains to be seen. It is very improbable that the Indian people should be completely transformed one way or the other. It is very likely that there will be a blending of the various ideals, i.e., an adaptation and assimilation of modern requirements in harmony with the inherited culture of the past. Till then we may witness faults, false attempts at adaptation, a temporary obscuration of the Indian national genius brought about by its complete domination by foreign ideals. These, however, will we conceive, ultimately lead to something definite which would be neither in the nature of old Ayudhya nor of a brand-new Delhi, but would represent some pattern which will combine the merits of both.

THE INDIAN CITY: CITY-PLANNING IN THE INDIAN SCHEME OF NATIONAL LIFE

I

We have shown at considerable length in a previous article appearing in the October, 1912 number of this magazine and entitled *The City in Relation to the Village: The Indian Scheme of National Life*, that the royal and sacred cities of India played a most important part

in the traditional scheme of Indian national life, and that this importance of the city was fully recognised by the ancient founders of Indian civilisation and culture. This being so, it can easily be seen that the evolution of the city could not at all be regarded as a matter of unconscious haphazard growth but as a matter of conscious, scientific planning and co-ordination, with due regard to the requirements of the socio-religious ideals of the people. Accordingly, we find that an important part of the ancient Indian treatises called the *Silpasastras*¹ was very often devoted to the classification and planning of cities and towns. For example we learn from Rām Raz, the well-known author of the *Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus*, that no less than four distinct chapters of the *Mānasāra*, one of the most comprehensive of the *Silpasastras*, are devoted to the subject of city-planning ;—its seventh chapter treating of the parts into which the ground plan of cities, towns, temples, palaces and houses should be divided, its ninth, treating of villages and towns, and prescribing rules for the formation of streets, and the allotment of fit places for the erection of temples and for the residence of different classes of people ; its tenth, containing a description of the different sorts of cities ; and its thirtyfourth chapter treating of cities again.² Another of these *Silpasastras*, the *Mayamata* contains among other things descriptions of the several sorts of villages, cities and fortresses ;³ while a third work, the *Vaikhānasa* also treats of villages, towns and cities, and the fruits to be derived from building and peopling them with *Brahmans*.⁴

These *Silpasastras*, we should remember, were handbooks written for the guidance of architects, sculptors and craftsmen, and it speaks volumes for the aesthetic comprehension of the makers of these ancient *Sastras*, that in their treatment of the subject they regarded Sculpture, Painting and all the decorative arts in their organic relation to architecture, and their architecture in organic relation to the plan of the city. Nay, some of them go one step further in suggesting a relation of the whole subject of the arts, architecture and city-planning to the Land itself and to the spiritual civilisation which it represents. For example the *Vaikhānasa Silpasastra*, before going on to treat of villages, towns and cities, and the architecture which is to adorn them, “ opens with an encomium on the land of *Bharata* as being peculiarly sacred, and adapted for the performance of holy rites and sacrifices.”⁵

1. For an account of the *Silpasastras*, *vide* an article on “ Interpretation of Indian Art in the Light of Indian Literary Records : A New Branch of Study,” in the April and May, 1912 numbers of this magazine.

2. Ram Raz, *op. cit.* p. 4.

3. Ram Raz, *op. cit.* p. 6.

4. Ram Raz, *op. cit.* p. 8.

5. Ram Raz, *op. cit.* pp. 7-8.

A knowledge of the science of city-planning, however, was not restricted to architects and craftsmen only. It was also regarded as an essential equipment for the ruler or administrator ; for chapters and verses on the planning of forts and cities are very often to be found in political treatises like the *Sukraniti* or the *Arthashastra* of Chanakya. Verses 12 to 72 of the 1st Adhyaya of *Sukraniti* are devoted to the principles and rules to be observed in the laying out of a capital city ; while in Chanakya's *Arthashastra* we find that chapter III of Book II deals with the construction of fortified cities (दुर्गमिष्ठानम्), while chapter IV of the same Book deals with the arrangement of the buildings within the city (दुर्गमनिवेशः).

That the principles for the laying out of villages and towns that are inculcated in these treatises were sought to be carried out in actual practice is abundantly clear from even such fragmentary notices of cities and city-life as we come across in the historical and semi-historical records of the country. In the Epics and the Puranas (which may safely be taken to reflect the conditions of life obtaining at the time of their composition or compilation) we read now and then of new cities being planned and laid out by kings and potentates. The description of the building of Indraprastha by the Pandavas in the *Mahabharata* (chapters I to XII of *Sabhaparva*), and, better still, the fuller description of the laying out of Dwaraka by Sree-Krishna for His new capital as given at length in chapters CXV and CCXIV of the *Harivamsham*, illustrate the ideas and principles embodied in formal treatises like the *Silpasastras*. Such fragmentary records of the cities of the past as are furnished by foreign sojourners like Megasthenes, Fa Hian, and Hiuen Thsang, and in later times of the Persian, Italian and Portuguese visitors who have visited India since the inauguration of Musalman rule, also serve to illustrate and corroborate more or less the Sastric picture of the city and city-life. Of these latter, perhaps the fullest account is that which we have of the city of Vijayanagar, the seat of the great Hindu Empire of Southern India from the pen of the Persian ambassador Abdler Razzak, of the Italian traveller Nicolo Conti, and, on a fuller scale, of the Portuguese writer Domingo Paes. Nay, as late as the beginning of the 18th century, we find a great Indian city, planned and built with great deliberation, according to the traditional principles inculcated in the *Silpasastras*. When the great Rajput ruler Sawai Jay Singh wanted to build his new city of Jaipur, he had it built on a regular plan designed and executed by a Bengali Jain named Vidyadhar,⁶ according to traditional principles. Col. T. H. Hendley, C. I. E.,

6. *Vide* Tod's *Rajasthan* (Annals of Amber, Chap. II.) : Vidyadhar, a native of Bengal, was "one of the most eminent coadjutors of the prince in all his scientific pursuits, both astronomical and historical."

in the course of an article on the building of the New Delhi recently contributed to the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*,⁷ writes :—"One of the first needs is to have wide streets, and central squares, circuses or open spaces, and a regular plan. This is quite in accordance with the best and oldest Indian traditions as laid down in the Silpa Sastras or works on architecture (translated by Rama Raja in 1834) and as actually carried out in such cities as Ayudhya (the capital of the hero of Ramayana), or two hundred years ago at Jeypore—not without wisdom and study in the latter case, as several alternative plans still exist at Jeypore, which show that the founder Siwai Jey Singh made a deliberate choice. Many valuable hints might be taken from the scheme by which the appearance of a fine city was given at the outset by laying out regular roads and creating ornamental screens of stone behind which public buildings and private residences were erected and decorated at leisure."

II

We learn from these Silpasastras and other cognate treatises that one of the most important steps in the planning of a city is to divide it into a number of wards by allotting different portions of the city for the residence of different classes of people according to the castes and communities to which they respectively belong. Here we come in touch with one of the root facts which stand at the base of the whole organisation of civic life in indigenous India. Communal life in India, whether in the village communities or in the cities and towns, has always been organised according to a system of reciprocal duties and relations embodied in the Family, the Caste and the Guild. It is the family, not the individual, that counts in the administration of caste or guild affairs. So again it is neither the individual, nor again the family but the caste or the guild, which counts in the administration of civic or village affairs. The orders that constitute civic life, therefore, are not, as in modern municipalities, mere groups of men composed of heterogeneous units that have very little in common between them except the mere fact of living in the same locality, each group differing as little as possible from the rest,—but they are groups of men who by the very fact of their belonging to a single caste or guild, and of their living also in the same locality under terms of the most intimate social and professional fellowship, form highly organised and compact units—each representing a distinct and separate function in the civic organism. The *paras*, *mahallas*, and *pattis* of Indian cities are thus so many visible embodiments of the different orders of civic life.

7. For January, 1912 (volume xv., New Series, No. 117).

Accordingly, we find that the division into wards according to castes and guilds was regarded as one of the important steps in the planning of a city. So in the *Sukraniti* (ch. I. verses 56 and 57) it is enjoined that in a city or a village houses of men belonging to the same caste should be arranged in a row and form a ward or mahalla (*Samudāya*); and that in a bazaar (*āpana*) the shops should be arranged according to the different classes of commodities sold by them.⁸ So again in Chanakya's *Arthashastra* (Book II., chapter IV), there are elaborate directions for the location in different parts of the city of the different classes of citizens, such as royal teachers, priests and ministers; merchants trading in scents, garlands, grains and liquids; artisans, and people of the Kshatriya caste; people who trade in cooked rice, liquor and flesh; prostitutes, musicians, and people of the Vaisya caste; artisans manufacturing worsted threads, cotton threads, bamboo-mats, skins, armours, weapons, and gloves; as well as people of the Sudra caste; and so on. So again in the *Harivamsam*, we read that when the limits of the newly planned city of Dwaraka were fixed, the Emperor Ugrasena (grandfather of Sree-Krishna) placed in their proper places the commanders of armies and the heads of the clans. He then settled in their respective places the priest Sandipani, the commander-in-chief Anadhrishti, the foremost of ministers Vikadru, and the ten elders (presumably leaders of the several castes and guild corporations) headed by Uddhava.⁹ The *Manasara* in the same way enjoins that different parts of the village or the town to be called respectively the *Brahmya*, the *Divya*, the *Manushya*, and the *Paisacha*, and occupying respectively $\frac{1}{10}$, $\frac{1}{5}$, $\frac{1}{5}$ and $\frac{1}{6}$ of the whole area, should be allotted to the residence of the Brahmans, the Kshatriyas, the Vaisyas and the Sudras. No city, town or village, is regarded as complete unless it has within it a due proportion of each of the different castes and professions. It is only the lowest classes such as the *Chandalas* in the time of Emperor Chandragupta Maurya, or the butchers, fishers, dancers, executioners and scavengers in later Buddhist times—whose unclean occupations or disorderly modes of living rendered them unsit to be associated with,—it is only these that were required to live outside the limits of the city proper.¹⁰

8. सथजातौरह्याणं हि समुदायेन पंक्तिः । ५६ ।
पिवेश्वनं पुरे ग्रामे प्रागुद्भूम्यमेव वा ।
सजातिपण्यनिरहैराप्ये पण्यवेशनम् । ५७ ।

9. *Harivamsham*, chapter cxv, M. N. Datta's Translation, p. 497.

10. Chanakya's *Arthashastra*, chapter iv., Book II.; and Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World* vol. I. (*Travels of Hiuen Tsang*), p. 74.

III

The exact nature of the organisation of civic life implied in the division into wards according to caste or guild units is best understood if we stop to examine it in some of its concrete aspects. As we have already pointed out, the unity of the ward is dependent not merely on the simple fact of its constituent families living as neighbours in the same locality, but also on the close social and professional ties which bind them together into one large family, as it were. They meet each other in their day's work, and their professional and social life are regulated by special rules and principles which are observed by all of them. For example, different families are united by ties of inter-marriage and interdining; obey a certain code of social etiquette and discipline; help distressed members of the community; restrict unfair competition in the economic sphere by enforcing amongst themselves a body of guild-rules; and in their united, corporate capacity meet in their guild-halls to administer the affairs of the community and support a number of religious and philanthropic institutions, such as temples, hospitals, dispensaries, almshouses and rest-houses for travellers, in their respective wards. Thus, in the description of the Hindu City of Vijayanagar (15th century A.D.) left by the Portuguese writer, Domingo Paes, we read that "the streets were lined with the houses of different groups of craftsmen", and that "there are temples in every street, for they appertain to institutions like the confraternities (guilds) you know of in our parts, of all the craftsmen and merchants."¹¹ So, again, in a sketch of the City of Benares by the late Sister Nivedita, we read that the city is even at the present day filled with small courts and alleys divided from the main streets by short flights of broad steps each crowned by its own gate, which formerly used to be shut at night and guarded by a watchman for the security of the whole section or para from violence and crime. These old gateways stand as so many visible symbols of the unity of the different sectional units of the city. "Within these gateways, again, there are the shrines of Kal Bhairav, the divine *Kotwal*, who perambulates the city of Siva, night after night, with staff and dog, who is specially the god of sentinels and door-keepers, just as Viswakarma is the god of craftsmen, and of whom every city-watchman held himself as minister and earthly representative."¹²

11. P. 56, *History of a Forgotten Empire*, By Robert Sewell, I.C.S. (Retd.): London, Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1900.

12. "A Sketch of Benares," *Modern Review*, March, 1907.

IV

One special feature of this old Indian organisation of civic life on a basis of caste and guild wards, is the moral continuity that it secured between the village and the city. Nowadays in the modernised cities of India, as in the modern cities of the West, the sojourning villager (whether student or householder) considers himself more or less as an emancipated individual, free from the yoke of social discipline and social duties and relations which were observed by him in the village community. Thus, on the one hand, the removal of the wholesome influence of communal relations throws him open to the temptation of an irresponsible and undisciplined life of selfish individualistic pursuits and, on the other hand, he is deprived of the protection which in times of need was afforded him by the caste or guild community. But in the old Indian cities, the villager coming from the village to the city found himself in the midst of his own castemen and was thus able to keep up the same sort of social existence which he enjoyed in his villages. The continuity, therefore, between the distant homestead and the town caste-ward was never broken. City-life, therefore, for an old Indian, did not constitute a new order of existence, but was in all essential features the same as life in the village community.

V

But if the organisation of civic life in the traditional scheme of Indian life has always been based on a number of distinct and compact ward-units, each managing its own affairs in a decentralised fashion, it has also had another side, *which made for unity*. The duty of the caste or guild ward to contribute to the life of the city *as a whole* was never and could never have been, forgotten. For, the very organisation of his caste would always remind the individual citizen that his status in the community was always dependent on the special function that he discharged in the communal life, on the special way in which he as a member of his caste or guild served the life of the general community, and not at all on his position as a mere citizen. Accordingly we find that the public activities of the different guild or caste units were supplemented by a higher civic organisation, in which the different bodies of citizens (generally acting through their headmen) co-operated with the State for the administration of the affairs of the city. Among those duties were, according to the Vrihaspati Samhita, the repair of public halls, *prapas* (places where drinking water is supplied to travellers, wells, cisterns &c.), temples, tanks and gardens, the performance of purificatory rites for the poor and the destitute, arrangements for the cremation of dead paupers, distribution of gifts among people desirous of performing religious acts, and support-

ing people in times of famine and distress.¹³ In Megasthenes' account of the municipal administration of Pataliputra we find that the administration was entrusted to the hands of a body of thirty commissioners (presumably drawn partially from the ranks of the headmen of the different castes and guilds), divided into six groups of five each, who severally looked after the industrial arts and the entertainment of foreigners, kept vital statistics, superintended trade and commerce, collected tolls &c.; and in their collective capacity had charge both of their special departments and also of matters affecting the general interest, such as the keeping of public buildings in proper repair, the regulation of prices, the care of markets, harbours and temples.¹⁴

VI

The Hall or *Sabha* in which the City Fathers met to discharge these civic functions was generally situated in the centre of the city, and served, next to the great temple, as a symbol of the unity of civic life. So we find the *Manasara* enjoining that in the case of what are known as *Nandavarta* towns or villages, two broad streets should run through the middle of the town from east to west, and from north to south, cutting one another in the middle, where there should be erected "either a temple for *Brahma*, or a *Mantapa* for general meetings" (*vide* Ram Raz, op. cit., p. 45). In the *Harivamsha* account of the planning of Dwaraka, this matter of the central *Sabha* or Civic Hall is regarded as of such great importance that *Sudharma*, the civic hall of the gods themselves in heaven, is related to have been bodily transplanted to form the central Sabha of the newly built Dwaraka. The *Sukraniti* lays down that a capital city should have a Sabha or civic hall in the middle.¹⁵ While the civic hall was generally situated in the centre of the city, the meeting-halls or Sabhas of the different guilds and corporations are generally described as occupying its four corners. Thus, according to the *Manasara*, in the class of townships entitled *Sarvato-*

13. “सभाप्रपादेवगृहतङ्गागारामसंस्कृतिः ।
तथानाशदर्शिणां संस्कारी यजनक्रिया ॥
कृत्यायननिरोवश कार्थमस्ताभिरुप्यतः ।
यवैतल्लिखितं पचे धर्मा सा समयक्रिया ।”

See a paper on "Municipal Institutions in Ancient India," printed in a pamphlet entitled *Three Essays* by Rai Rajendra Chandra Sastri Bahadur, M.A., p. 20 : Published by Devendra Nath Banerji, 30, Tarak Chatterji's Lane, Calcutta, 1906.

14. *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*. Translated by J. W. McCrindle, M.A., London, 1877 : Pp. 87-88.

15. सभामध्यां कूपवाषीतङ्गागादियुती सदा ।
चतुर्दिश्च चतुर्द रात्रासुमार्गारामवीचिकाम् ।

—*Sukraniti*, chap. I, verse 115.



bhadra, at the angular points should be erected ASSEMBLY HALLS, porticos, colleges and other public edifices (*vide* Ram Raz, op. cit., p. 43). Again, in the *Arthashastra* of Chanakya, we read that guilds and corporations of workmen should reside (*i.e.*, should have their halls) in the several corners (*Arthashastra*, ch. iv. bk. II.)

It is these civic halls, as also the temples, royal palaces and other public buildings of the city that furnished opportunities for the growth of that great scheme of decoration, embracing within its scope all the arts from sculpture and painting downwards, the remains of which in the monastic caves of Ajanta and elsewhere still speak of the lost glory and splendour of civic India.

VII

It will be brought out in a later section of this article how the temple of the tutelary deity always serves as the central and predominant feature of a city, town or village. In some cities, such as Madura, all the principal streets converge towards the great central temple. In the Silpasastras, one of the first items in town-planning is always the allocation of the sites for the temples. According to the *Mānasāra*, a village or township of the *Dandīca* type should have temples erected to Vishnu, Siva and Chamunda (*vide* Ram Raz, op. cit., p. 42); a village or town of the *Sarvatobhadra* type should contain in the middle a temple dedicated to any one of the triad, Brahma, Vishnu, or Maheswara; while outside the walls of the town should be placed the shrines of the deities who preside over and defend the several quarters of the village or town, and outside the northern gate, a temple for the worship of Mahakali (*vide* Ram Raz, op. cit., pp. 41-44); and a *Nandyavarta* town should have a temple for Brahma at the central crossing.

So also Chanakya in his *Arthashastra* (CH. IV, BK. II) lays down that the temple of the Royal tutelary deity should be situated to the north of the city; and that in the centre should be situated the temples of gods such as Aparājita, Apratihata, Jayanta, Vaijayanta, Siva, Vaisravana, and Asvina (divine physicians), and the temple of Sree (or Lakshmi).¹⁶ So again in the story of the laying out of Dwarakā given in the Harivamsham, we note that the first thing done after the laying out of the gates and the boundary lines, was to build temples, in proper places, of Brahmā, the God of sacrifices, Indra, the presiding

16. Sj. R. Shamasastri, B.A., the translator of the *Arthashastra* gives the word as *Sreemandiragriham* and translates it as "the honourable liquor-house" which is obviously absurd in the context. I venture therefore to suggest that the nasal point अन्तर before दि has been dropped by mistake in the Ms. copy, and that the word is श्रैमदिरग्रहम् *Sreemandiragriham*, i. e., the temple-house of *Sree* or Lakshmi. Images of *Sree* occur in the Bharhut sculptures (*circa* 150 B.C.)

deities of fire and water, and other gods. The presence of these larger city temples, together with the smaller temples erected in the different streets and wards by people belonging to different castes and guilds, served to emphasize the religious character of the Indian scheme of life, and it is this feature that turned all the important cities of the Land sooner or later into so many religious centres and places of pilgrimage.

VIII

Besides the temples and the civic assembly-halls, the *unity* of civic life in indigenous India found embodiment, as we have noticed above, in a number of civic charities and philanthropic institutions maintained and administered either by the general corporation or by one or other of the guilds. These are Pānthisālā-s (or rest-houses for travellers), hospitals and dispensaries, prapā-s (establishments where drinking water is supplied to travellers), Punyasālā-s or Sattrā-s (where food is distributed to the needy), tanks and gardens. These are very often mentioned as essential to the ideal of a city. We have already quoted from *Brihaspatismihī* a passage which mentions most of these institutions. The *Sukraniti* enjoins that the King should live with his subjects in a capital city, which has a *Sabha* or civic hall in its middle, is furnished with wells and tanks, has four gates on four sides, good roads, gardens and avenues, strongly built temples, monasteries and rest-houses.¹⁷ Again, in verse 56 in the same chapter, we read: "A well-protected rest house for travellers should then be built and furnished with good tanks."¹⁸ The *Manasara* again enjoins that in a *Sarvatobhadra* town, a watershed for the accommodation of travellers and passengers should be erected at the south-east corner of the town. Fa Hian, the Chinese pilgrim, makes mention of a hospital maintained by the citizens of Pataliputra. Hiuen Tsang makes frequent mention of the punyasālā-s or dharmasālā-s which were rest-houses at which food and medicine were distributed gratis to the travellers.¹⁹

IX

The typical Indian city, then, with its temples, assembly-halls, palaces, guilds, and institutions for the public welfare, presents a definite

17. Verses 15, 16. Ch. I. :—

सभामध्यांकूपवापीतङ्गागादिशुतोऽसदा।
चतुर्दिक्षु चतुर्हरारां सुमार्गरामवौथिकाम् ॥
दद्वुरालयमठपात्यग्रावाविराजिताम् ।
कलयित्वा वसेतत्र सुरुपः सप्रजीतुपः ।

18. पात्यग्रावा ततः कार्योऽसुरुपा सुजलाश्चया ।

19. Legge's *Fa Hian*, p. 79 : Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1886; and Watters' *On Yuan Chwang* vol. I. pp. 286 and 328 : London, Royal Asiatic Society, 22 Albemarle Street, 1903.

organic character to our view, and sufficiently belies the apprehensions of those who appear to fear that the organisation of the city into mahalla-s and patti-s, according to castes and guilds, tends to turn these smaller units into so many "water-tight compartments," incapable of co-operating with each other for the civic good. The modern Western ideal of corporate municipal life is based on the idea that the civic corporation should be a homogeneous body consisting of a number of individuals considered only in their capacity as citizens, apart from the special circumstances surrounding their lives and occupations, apart from the special function they discharge in the life of the civic organism. The unity that is sought to be attained is of a more or less abstract character and the corporate force thus generated is not available for use except within a very narrow and restricted field. Whereas in the Indian scheme, the unity of the caste or the guild unit is of a more far-reaching character, influencing as it does the whole life of its members—religious, social, economic and professional. On the other hand, the guild or caste units representing different inter-dependent functions of the civic organism are also capable of a higher form of organic unity than is possible for an aggregation of what are supposed to be homogenous units on an abstract basis of common citizenship. Not many months ago, a distinguished Anglo-Indian official, the Hon'ble Mr. Claude Hamilton Archer Hill C.S.I., C.I.E., Executive Member of the Bombay Government, who is noted for his sympathies with Indian ideals and aspirations, took occasion to remark in the course of an address delivered by him at a meeting of the "Servants of India" Society at Poona, "that the old Indian divisions of cities, their wards, mahallas and peths, were so many water-tight compartments", and presented perhaps the greatest obstacles to the growth of a corporate municipal life such as is being sought to be fostered by a system of municipalities and corporations introduced by the Government. In the foregoing paragraphs of this article we hope we have been able to demonstrate almost conclusively the utter fallacy of the above contention. In the same connection, however, our readers may be interested in learning the views of another disinterested thinker and writer who had been to India for purposes of investigation, Mr. A. K. Connell, M.A., author of *The Economic Revolution of India*, on the respective merits of the old communal organisations in Indian villages (and by implication in Indian cities) and of modern organisations like Municipalities and District Boards. Says Mr. Connell,—“Whether the blame lies with the violence of the Mussulman tax-gatherer and the Mahratta horseman, or with the benevolence of the British administrator and progressist, it is admitted that over a great part of India the one *naturally* evolved form of organisation (the communal organisation of the villages) has been

gradually losing its vitality. What has taken its place? The symbol of Western civilisation, the home of commercial activity, the battle-field of capital and labour—the municipality. ‘Before our own eyes,’ writes Mr. Hunter, in his enthusiastic eulogy on the industrial era, ‘we see the self-government, which the primitive village communities had ceased to give, developing into a higher form of self-government under municipal institutions. At this moment there are nearly one thousand municipalities in India, with a municipal population exceeding fourteen millions and raising among themselves for local purposes a revenue close on two millions sterling. There are also in some of the provinces district boards and rural unions, which do for the country what the municipalities do for the towns. The Indian races are visibly passing from the village into the municipal stage of social organisation; and the first lessons in local government are being learned by fourteen millions of native citizens.’ All this must sound very fine in the ears of Manchester and Birmingham, with their bran-new municipal government; but is not Mr. Hunter somewhat presuming on the ignorance of the British public? It may be true that we have called into life a thousand municipalities as commercial centres; but on how many of the nearly half-million village communities [*and city-guilds and other communal civic organisations*] have we passed a sentence of death?..... The combined action of all these powerful forces [set in motion by the British Courts, British legislation, and British commerce] cannot but disintegrate the village [and city] organism into a mere concourse of social atoms. This new change is euphemistically called the development of the sense of individual rights, and is regarded as an advance in civilisation, and will, we are assured, lead to the supersession of the old village system by local and district boards, and municipalities of the Western type. But in India the village [and the communally organised city] still includes all that we mean by the terms church, community and country. In its life the higher phases of Hindoo existence have been developed; beside its watering-places and beneath the shade of its trees, the prophets and poets, the artists and architects, the weavers and the workmen of all kinds, have expressed in their words and work the joys and sorrows, the hopes and fears, of their souls. If the life of the village [and of the communal city] is destroyed, Indian society is in a state of spiritual dissolution,²⁰ and is only held together by the external force of an

20. “Native society is justly famous for its charity. It is owing to the profound sense which is felt by all classes of the religious duty of succouring, according to their means, the indigent and helpless who have claims on them as members of their family, the caste, or the town and village, that in ordinary times no State measures of relief are needed.” Quoted from the Report of the Famine Commission, 1878, in Mr. A. K. Connell’s *Economic Revolution of India*, p. 158.

omnipotent Government, which protects the individual rights it has itself bestowed, but paralyzes the sense of social obligations which have been handed down from the past, and crushes the creative powers of the present²¹."

X

This unity of civic life in ancient India had perhaps its most effective visible embodiment in the wall that surrounded the city on all sides. This wall defined the limits of the city and at its four gates stood the temples of the deities of the quarters to guard it from evil. We read in the *Manasara* that the street that encircled the city immediately within the walls was called the *Mangala-bithi*, probably because it was used as the procession-path during festivals. Just outside the walls there was perhaps a ditch, and beyond that temples and groves, for ascetics and monks. "There were", in the language used by Mr. Frederick Harrison²² of the ancient Greek and the Roman city, "no leagues of dull and grimy suburbs, no acres of factories and smoky furnaces, fetid streams and squalid wastes."

XI

If the city wall was a static embodiment of the unity and solidarity of the life of a city, there was no lack of the living realisation of the joy of this corporate existence. It found embodiment in the periodical processions and festivals which were at the same time civic and religious. In Buddhist times the civic procession took the form of a Buddhist Car festival. In Hindu times and in Hindu cities it has been a Hindu Rathayātrā or Vijaya. And so ingrained in the Indian nature is this civic form of celebration, that the Muhammadans also of India have taken to celebrate their Muharram in the form of *tāzya* processions. The *Nagar Sankirtan* of the Bengal Vaishnavas which consists in going in procession through the streets of the city or town chanting Vaishnava hymns to the accompaniment of the *khol* and *karatal*, is another embodiment of the same idea. The procession really meant the sanctification of the city as a whole and the *idea of the wholeness of the city* received more or less effective embodiment in the civic celebration. A well-known passage in the Rāmāyaṇa describes the procession of citizens who went out into the forest with Bharat in search of Rama. The gem-cutters, potters, weavers, armourers, ivory-

21. *Vide* pp. 165-167, and pp. 168-170 of "The Economic Revolution of India and The Public Works Policy" by A. K. Connell, M. A.: London, Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., Paternoster Square, 1883.

N.B.—The portions enclosed within square brackets in the above extracts have been added by the present writer.

22. *Vide* p. 240, *The Meaning of History*: London, Macmillan & Co., 1903.

workers, well-known goldsmiths, together with many others, the foremost merchants as well as the citizens of all classes went out to search for Rama ; "such a procession as," in the words of Dr. Coomaraswamy, "even in the nineteenth century, perhaps even today might be drawn together in one of the great merchant-cities of Western India." ²³

Fa Hian, the Chinese pilgrim describes one of these splendid Buddhist car-processions as celebrated at Pataliputra. Hiuen Tsang also who visited India in the 7th century A.D. describes a more splendid procession festival which was celebrated at Kanauj. It lasted for many days, and each day an image of Buddha was carried in solemn procession, escorted by twenty Rajas (feudatories of King Harsha Vardhana) and a train of three hundred elephants. The canopy was borne by King Harsha in person, attired as the god Sakra, while his ally Raja Kumara of Kamrup, the most important of the princes in attendance, was clad as the god Brahma, and had the honour of waving a white fly-whisk. The sovereign, as he moved along, scattered on every side pearls, golden flowers, and other precious substances, in honour of the 'Three Jewels'—Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha ; and having with his own hands washed the image at the altar prepared for the purpose, bore it on his shoulder to the western tower, and there offered to it thousands of silken robes, embroidered with gems. Dinner was followed by public religious disputations and in the evening the monarch returned to his travelling palace, a mile distant.²⁴

XII

Besides these processions there were other festivals and spectacles—such as Yajnas or Sacrifices celebrated by old Hindu Kings, festivals like the Mahanavami celebration at Vijayanagar, of which we have descriptions from the pens of Domingo Paes and Abdur Razzak, the Persian ambassador, and those tournaments and wrestling contests described so often in the Epics and Puranas. On these occasions also the unity and solidarity of civic life was manifested in a visible manner. The description of the preparations for the Sacrifice undertaken by King Dasaratha that he might be blessed with progeny, illustrates how all the different orders of civic life had to co-operate on these occasions.

He (Dasaratha) said unto old Brahmanas well up in sacrificial affairs, and experienced car-makers, and highly pious aged people, and servants carrying on the ceremonial operations till the end, and artists, and carpenters, and diggers, and astrologers, and artisans, and dancers, and conductors of theatres,—

• 23. Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Indian Craftsman*, pp. 26-27.

24. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 2nd ed., p. 322.

'Do ye, in obedience to the royal mandate, engage in the sacrificial work ! And fetch bricks by thousands ! Do ye raise structures for kings, commanding every convenience ! And do ye rear goodly and comfortable buildings by hundreds for the Brahmanas, replenished with various meats and drinks. Ye should provide spacious apartments for the citizens and dwellers of provinces,—and separate quarters for the princes, coming from foreign parts ; and stables for horses, and dressing-rooms and wide apartments for native and foreign warriors.... Those persons, and artisans that will labour eagerly in the sacrifice, should by turns be especially entertained ; and servants, who, being entertained with gifts, do every thing completely and omit nothing. And do ye, with hearts mollified by love, act so, that all our friends be well pleased with us.' (Ramayanam, Balakandam, Section XIII, M. N. Datta's *Translation*.)

So, again, we read in the Harivamhsam of the preparations made for the royal family and citizens of Mathura to witness the contest between Sree-Krishna and Balarama, and the King's Champions (chap. LXXXIV).

"Upon the following day the amphitheatre was filled by the citizens anxious to behold the great game. The place of assembly was supported by octagonal painted pillars, fitted up with terraces, doors and bolts, with windows circular or crescent-shaped and accommodated with seats with cushions ; and it shone like the ocean whilst large clouds hang upon it, with spacious substantial pavilions fitted up for the sight of the combat, open to the front but screened with beautiful and fine curtains, crowned with festoons of flowers and glistening with radiance like autumnal clouds. *The pavilions of the different guilds and corporations, vast as mountains, were decorated with banners, bearing upon them the implements and emblems of the several crafts.* The chambers of the inhabitants of the inner apartments shone near at hand bright with gold and painting and network of gems : they were richly decorated with precious stones, were enclosed below with costly hangings and ornamented above with spires and banners and looked like mountains spreading their rays in the sky ; while the rays of light reflected from the precious jewels were blended with the waving of white chowries and the musical tinkling of female ornaments. * * * * In the place of assembly there were excellent seats, couches made of gold and hangings of various colours, intermixed with bunches of flowers, and there were golden vases of water and handsome places of refreshments, filled with fruits of various kinds and cooling juices, sherbets fit for drinking. And there were many other stages and platforms constructed of strong timber ; and hangings by hundreds and thousands were displayed ; and upon the tops of the houses, chambers, fitted up with delicate galleries through which the women might behold the sports, appeared like swans flying through the air. In front stood the pavilion of Kansa surpassing all the rest in splendour, looking like mount Meru in radiance ; its sides, its columns being coated with burnished-gold ; fastened with coloured cords and every way worthy the presence of a king." 25

25. *Vide pp. 360-361 of the English Translation of Harivamsham, edited and published by Babu Manmatha Nath Datta, M.A., M.R.A.S., Calcutta, Elysium Press, 1897.*

This description of a festive arena in the Purana literature is corroborated by the account given of the celebration in later times of the Mahanavami festival at Vijayanagar left by Domingo Paes.

"Within the gate of the palace was a large open space, on two sides of which are low verandas where are seated *the captains and chief people in order*, to witness the feasts. On the right of the open space were some narrow scaffoldings made of wood and so lofty that they could be seen over the top of the wall ; they were covered at the top with crimson and green velvet and other handsome cloths and adorned from top to bottom. These scaffoldings were specially made for the feast and there were eleven of them. As soon as the king is seated, the captains (or headmen) who waited without make their entrance each one by himself, attended by his chief people and so on, all in order ; they approach and make their salaams to the king and then take their places in the pavilions (verandas) mentioned before. Then come the chief military officers with their soldiers and station themselves on the grounds."²⁶

And so the description proceeds through some twenty pages recounting all the incidents and decorations and making up a picture not merely of dazzling splendour and prosperity, but also of a splendid civic life in which king and subject are held together in the bonds of mutual love and loyalty. For, if we have seen above the picture of the king entertaining his subjects, we have only a few pages below, the converse picture of the subjects receiving the king. When the king of Vijayanagar entered the new city he had built by the side of his old capital, he used to be received by the citizens with great feasts, and the streets were hung with rich cloths, and with many triumphal arches under which he passed. This again recalls the Epic and Puranic descriptions of the reception accorded to Sree-Ramachandra in Ayodhya and to Sree-Krishna and Balaram in Mathura, recorded in the Ramayanam and the Harivamsham respectively. On the occasion of Sree-Krishna's return to Mathura after a military expedition, the Harivamsam relates that "When the two brothers reached the city of Mathura all the Jadavas, headed by Ugrasena came out to receive them. All the traders, subjects, ministers, and the boys and old men of Mathura came out to receive them. All the crossings of the four streets were decorated with garlands and flags ; trumpets were sounded announcing joy and panegyrist began to sing the glories of those two foremost of men. At the return of these two brothers the entire city of Mathura appeared delighted, joyous and beautiful as on the occasion of an Indrayajna. The singers began to sing on highways delightful songs celebrating the glories of the Yadavas, announcing—"O ye Yadavas, the two brothers Rama and Govinda celebrated in the world have arrived at their own city. Do you sport happily." When Rama and Krishna came there none in the city of Mathura appeared poor, in dirty clothes or indifferent. Cows, horses

26. Sewell's *History of a Forgotten Empire*. pp. 263 &c. : *vide* footnote 11.

and elephants grew delighted and birds began to sound auspicious notes and men and women attained to mental felicity. Auspicious winds, cleared of dust began to blow in the ten quarters and all the images of the deities in the temples were delighted. All the signs of the Krita age appeared there in Mathura on their arrival." (Harivamsham, Chap. ci, M. N. Datta's *Translation*)

RABINDRA NARAYAN GHOSHI, M.A.

WORKS ON INDIAN ART BY MR. E. B. HAVELL, A.R.C.A.

I. THE BASIS FOR ARTISTIC AND INDUSTRIAL REVIVAL IN INDIA

Published by Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras; 197 pp.; Rs. 1-8.

CONTENTS:—The Theory of Art; Present Conditions of Art in India and Reasons for Degeneration; The Adaptation of Indian Art to Modern Life; Indian Architecture; Fine Arts and Its Revival in India; Education and National Culture; Educational Methods; Indian Schools of Art; The Education of the Child; The Industrial Problem and the Home; The Ethics of Machinery; The Decentralisation of Industry in Europe; Handloom Industry; Industry Reform in Europe.

II.—ELEVEN PLATES—Representing Works of Indian Sculpture, chiefly in English Collections, 1911.

Published by W. Griggs & Sons, Limited, Hanover Street, Peckham, London, S. E., Price 4s.

CONTENTS:—A Torso of an Indian Prince (Siddhartha ?), 2 plates; A Nepalese Sculpture, representing probably a Vaishnava adaptation of some old Buddhist Jataka story; bronze figure of a child preacher; Bronze image of Siva as Natarâja, or Lord of Dancers; Bronze image of Pârvati; Copper figure of Hanumân; The Child Krishna dancing on the serpent Kâliya; Fragment of a statue of Buddha in sandstone, from Cambodia, 2 plates; Avalokitesvara, copper gilt and jewelled.

III. THE IDEAL OF INDIAN ART—Published by John Murray, Albemarle Street, W. London, 1911: Eight Chapters, 188 pages; Price Rs. 11-4 as.

Illustrations:—33 plates containing reproductions of Indian sculpture and architecture, including among others 5 Hindu and Buddhist images from Java, 2 Reliefs from the Hindu temple of Angkor in Cambodia; several bas-reliefs from Mâmallapuram in the Madras Presidency, a number of images of reliefs from the caves at Ellora, Ajanta and Elephanta; some temple sculptures from Kanârak and Bhubaneswar in Orissa, and a number of South Indian and Ceylonese bronze statues.

IV. ESSAYS ON INDIAN ART, INDUSTRY AND EDUCATION

Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, 1910; 196 pp.; Rs. 1-4.

Contents:—The Taj and its Designers; the Revival of Indian Handicraft; Art and Education in India; Art and University Reform in India; Indian Administration and 'Swadeshi'; the Uses of Art.

V. INDIAN SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

Published by John Murray, Albemarle Street, W. London, 1908. Eleven Chapters, Cloth, 278 pp.; £3-4s.

Illustrations:—79 Plates, consisting of 45 Reproductions of Sculpture, and 34 Reproductions of Painting—15 of these latter being in colours.

PART II: TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

MACHINE LABOUR *versus* MANUAL LABOUR

(Adapted from the Travancore Census Report, 1911)

I

What principle should govern the development of industries in a country like ours, centres round the question, whether machine-labour or manual labour is the more advantageous to India, as it now stands in respect of capital, enterprise, organisation and skill. Now, undoubtedly if the country is to maintain the vitality of its populational strength and maintaining it, is to help in its progressive increase, the obvious policy should be to conserve and nourish what exists and to build on the established foundation of manual labour. Viewed even on its own merits, manual labour has advantages of no mean order. In a country where it prevails, wealth is bound to be equitably distributed among the different classes of society and the physical and mental strength of its people is likely to be well maintained. It is through this hand-labour and India's so-called blind adherence to customs, manners, language, etc., which, by keeping up the demand *for all the labour* provided by a people, serve to maintain its social order,—that she has survived in the struggle for social existence. In every nation, mental and physical strength must go together. But with the help of machinery, a small industrial aristocracy of affluence with no physical strength comes into existence, whereas thousands have to work under them like mere "coolies"—(Turk kue, kyuleh, slave). With wealth and capital which is the blood of the body-politic, accumulated in a few organs, the social organism suffers from jealousies and strifes, like the human body suffering from a deranged system of blood circulation. Such an organism cannot grow powerful and the wealth produced cannot descend in right measure among the working classes, unless it is able to carry on a colossal export trade. When other nations compete with it in its market, it suffers. This is one of the causes of the apprehended decadence of the industrial nations of the West.

II

But there is the general belief based on a comparison between a machine-unit and a unit of hand-power, that manual labour could never cope with machinery, in respect of output. It is at the same time the opinion of not a few experts that if, for instance, in a cotton-spinning mill, as many men are employed in making thread as there are spindles in a machine, the output would be even greater than that of the machine. At all events, if the interest on the cost of the machine, the cost of annual repairs, the cost of the miscellaneous things required, the cost of staff, etc., are utilized in providing hand-labour, lakhs of men will be employed, a considerable volume of energy will be created, work will be turned out in corresponding proportion, and huge bodies of men will live in comparative ease. And if these men are employed and worked under a scientific method of division of labour, they will it is claimed, beat machinery.

III

The hand-labour of India—and Travancore is an integral part of India subject to all its economic forces—was once, say in the early part of the last century, more than a match for the machine-labour of Europe. And if it has since lost in the contest, it is not the machine-labour that has made it lose. The reason is to be found in many non-economic disturbing conditions originating through various causes. These interfered with the pursuits of the industrial classes and handicapped them, especially when there was not present in them any strong economic consciousness worth

speaking of. Even in countries which, supported by such advantages as government subsidy, protective duties, a policy of gradual substitution, etc., have won the race, the introduction of machine-labour was marked by the ruin of several families that till then worked on a system of hand-labour.

IV

Though machinery has saved the time and labour of man, it has not saved him from starvation, nor has done anything more than making the struggle for existence keener. If these facts are conceded, it would be obvious that a wholesale substitution of machine for manual labour, would really end in making the world unfit for human abode.

V

But whatever the effect on the advanced races, the substitution of machine-labour in the place of the existing system of hand-labour except under great safeguards and restraints must, to races less advanced in modern commercial methods, spell ruin. For the Indian people whose capacity for the production of goods on any large commercial scale *in advance of demand* is small, owing either to want of skill, or of natural inclination, or of capital, and whose sense of responsibility towards a wider scheme of social interests on modern, political lines, rightly or wrongly has not yet developed, a system of independent hand-labour is decidedly to be preferred. Under it, even poor people will have the chance of living freely and without dependence, and the country need not wait for capitalists to set up a system of machine-labour to work under. Machine-labour is of course not contraband.

VI

[The point mooted above that under the industrial system of the West dominated by machine-labour, there is a complete and absolute dependence of labourers, on capitalists deserves more than a passing notice. In his well-known work, *The Industrial Organisation of an Indian Province* (John Murray, 1906), Sir Theodore Morison, K.C.I.E., observes:—"In some respects the Indian industrial organization is more favourable to the labourer than the European. In Europe, the labourer cannot begin to work without the permission of the employer; the land, the implements of production and the raw material are all under lock and key, and the labourer can only get access to them if he complies with the terms which an employer offers him." Similarly also Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, that eminent living scientist and sociological thinker in his *Land Nationalisation* (Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1902) refers to the "almost complete dependence of the mass of labourers in this country (as in most civilised countries) on capitalists and landowners for the means of earning a livelihood. The absence of work for daily wages means for them starvation, since they have no other resource whatever. They are, therefore, not in a condition to refuse work, at whatever wages may be offered them; and the severe competition among capitalists and manufacturers for the means of employing their capital and adding to their wealth obliges them to force down the wages of unskilled labour to the lowest point at which the labourer can live. The labourers, as a class, are absolutely dependent on the comparatively few capitalists. They go blindly to any labour offered them; and when, owing to reckless competition, dishonest adulteration, foreign wars and other causes, a time of depression arrives, they are helpless. They have no means of productive home-industry, they have not even a home from which they cannot be ejected at any moment on failure to pay the weekly rent, they have no land, garden or domestic animals, the produce of which might support them till fresh work could be obtained. If they have any savings, these are soon spent and they then inevitably fall into pauperism". —*Ibid*, pp. 16-17.—Editor, Dawn.]

PART III

SECTION I: INDIAN EDUCATIONAL AND ALLIED MOVEMENTS

"DELHI, THE METROPOLIS OF INDIA": SIR BRADFORD LESLIE AND MR. E. B. HAVELL

I. Introductory: Summary of Sir Bradford Leslie's Proposals about the New Delhi

In a recent paper read (December 12, 1912) by that eminent engineer, Sir Bradford Leslie, at a largely attended meeting of the Royal Society of Arts, London, he took up for the subject of his treatment, "Delhi, the Metropolis of India." His primary object on the occasion was to present a great, detailed scheme (since forwarded to the Government of India for their consideration, by his His Majesty's Secretary of State) for converting the swampy bed of the Jumna at Delhi into a lake by throwing across it, a little below the south-gate of the city, a dam with an overfall weir. "By holding the waters up it would also enable bathing places to be built on the lake frontage, and as a result, the two great causes of the insanitary condition of Delhi, *malaria and plague*, would be removed. Then there would be no object in locating the new city three miles away, as it was at present intended; it would be built on the side of and contiguous to Delhi proper on the site of the civil station; and instead of having what he would call a dry-bone city away in the desert attractive to no one, they would have a really beautiful city,"*

In the concluding paragraphs (55-60) of his paper, Sir Bradford touches upon the question of the style of architecture that should in his opinion be adopted. He is absolutely opposed to the adoption of the *Renaissance* style: According to him, "the adoption of a pseudo-renaissance style, which no longer interprets the structural methods of the age, is the final breaking adrift of architecture from its traditional foundation of the builder's art" (paragraph 60). He had previously expressed himself in stronger words in the course of a discussion on Mr. Havell's paper on *The Building of the New Delhi* read at a meeting of the East India Association, on October 21, 1912. In the report of Sir Bradford's speech which has just appeared we read: "He entirely agreed with what Mr. Havell had said from the architectural point of view, and he thought it would be a burning shame to impose upon the peoples of India this big-wiggy Renaissance architecture. He hoped the matter would be satisfactorily settled." (Vide *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January 1913, p. 111).

We note, however, that Sir Bradford Leslie in his paper recently read at the Society of Arts Meeting, advocates the use of iron and steel as architec-

* The extract is taken from the report of a short speech made by Sir Bradford Leslie at a meeting of the East India Association on the occasion of the reading of a paper on "The Building of the New Delhi" by Mr. E. B. Havell, October 21, 1912 (vide *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1913, pp. 110-111). At that meeting Sir Bradford for the first time ventilated his idea which he shortly after worked out in detail and expounded at the Arts Society Meeting.

tural materials for purposes of construction, at least of the larger public buildings, in the place of wood, brick and stone which according to Mr. Havell are the proper materials to be used in India. In the course of the discussion which followed the reading of Sir Bradford Leslie's paper, Mr. Havell while cordially agreeing with the former as regards his attitude towards the Renaissance style of architecture for India joined issue with the eminent engineer on the question of the architectural materials that should be used for the purposes of the Building of the New Delhi. The reader will find in the next following subsection of this article, the substance of Mr. Havell's arguments given in his own words. In subsection IV, the reader will find also some comments of our own on Sir Bradford Leslie's proposal for the use of iron and steel as architectural materials for the New Delhi.

II. MR. HAVELL'S COMMENMNTS ON THE SAME

[N. B.—The figures 1 and 2 to be found in the body of Mr. Havell's article do not refer to any footnotes, but are intended to refer to corresponding Explanatory Notes given under subsection III.—*Editor, Dawn*]

I know of very few who are as competent as Sir Bradford Leslie to deal with the architectural side of the question. All imaginative engineering comes within the province of art, and if the lecturer had devoted himself to the study of the problems of wood, brick and stone in their architectural uses in the same way as he had studied the problems of iron and steel, he would have proved himself as great an architect as he is an engineer. We do not always recognise that Indian builders have been as great in engineering as in the purely aesthetic side of architecture. They used iron girders centuries before they were thought of in Europe¹; but, of course, only occasionally. The reason why they did not make more use of them was an eminently practical one. India especially in the north (including the district round Delhi) is peculiarly rich in building stone of very fine quality almost as easy to work as wood. When stone of such quality can be obtained in unlimited quantities and of almost any dimensions, there is comparatively little reason for using iron in ordinary buildings. Stone is a far better architectural material; we only use iron so largely in Europe because stone of large dimensions and good quality has now become very expensive and difficult to get. We have begun to use iron in Anglo-Indian buildings chiefly because it is so used in Europe. The consequence is that Indian stone quarries are closed; a great Indian industry decays, and building stone is becoming in some places as scarce and as costly as it is in Europe. For whose interest is this done? Certainly not India's. If Indian stone quarries were properly developed and connected with the railways, iron girders and steel framework might be left to the jerry-builder.

There is at the present moment a great building project, the Victoria Memorial, being carried out in Calcutta. When this scheme was started the European architect actually proposed that all the marble used in the construction should be imported from Greece or Italy; and but for the energetic representations of Sir Thomas Holland, then Director of the Geological Survey of India, who urged that the opportunity should be used for opening up the splendid marble quarries of India and Burma, the contracts would have been sanctioned by Lord Curzon. This is an illustration of what happens when architects who are ignorant of Indian conditions, or not disposed to consider them, are allowed to have their own way in India.

The same thing will happen at Delhi if the European architects are allowed to do just as they please, because they are European experts. If Indian conditions were understood by architects here, or if the latter had the least idea of what fine buildings have been constructed by Indian builders even *within the last fifty years*, we should have no more of the foolish proposal to build the New Delhi according to a Western archaeological formulary which has nothing to do with real architecture. I could show you photographs of modern Indian buildings, the existence of which is not dreamt of by architects in Europe and not even by Anglo-Indians who ought to know them. Some people seem anxious to remain in ignorance of them perhaps on the principle that "when ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise."

We have here a Society for the preservation of ancient buildings in which very many people are interested. What is wanted in India is a strong and influential Society for the preservation of the living Indian building tradition—a question of much more vital importance; for when a living building tradition exists, there is always a possibility of creating new buildings as beautiful as the old ones. *Here, where many generations of paper-architects have killed the building tradition*², we can only patch up the old ones and build lifeless imitations of them. Because this dismal process is forced upon us in Europe, there is no valid reason, either in architecture or engineering, why it should be transplanted to Delhi.

E. B. HAVELL

III. EXPLANATORY NOTES

[N. B. The annotations given under numbers 1 and 2 of these Notes must be taken to refer to correspondingly numbered passages to be found in the body of Mr. Havell's foregoing article.—EDITOR.]

1. “We do not always recognise that Indian builders have been as great in engineering as in the purely aesthetic side of architecture. They used iron-girders centuries before they were thought of in Europe.”

(A)

In support of the above statement, the attention of the reader is invited to the following facts taken from an original work published (1912) by Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co. of Calcutta, entitled *Orissa and Her Remains: Ancient and Mediæval*: by Manomohan Ganguly, B.E., M.R.A.S. Writing in connection with the great Orissan temple of Konarak, the author, an engineer by profession, makes the following statements:—

(1) “Iron lintels are largely used in Orissan temples as architraves or lintels over doorways, beams to support the false ceiling, as cramps to connect together the blocks of stone, or as door-hinges.” (*Ibid.*, pp.259-260)

(2) “The following fact which I noticed at Konarka clearly indicative of great engineering skill is worth mentioning. I noticed several iron beams at Konarka not of uniform cross section, the dimensions of which are quoted below.

Length taken along the centre	23'
Thickness at the end	9½"
” ” ” centre	11"

“The above dimensions are of a lintel over the southern doorway of the Jagamohan; from them it is at once apparent that the longitudinal section of the lintel presents the form of a parabola. It is a fundamental rule of Applied Mechanics that if a beam be supported at both ends and uniformly loaded, the maximum bending moment occurs at the centre of the beam and that the locus of bending moments is a parabola. Hence it follows that for a beam of uniform strength, the breadth is constant, and the depth is varied to suit the varying stresses. This principle has exactly been followed in forging these huge iron beams. This reflects great credit on the architects.”

“By applying the usual deflection formula, and taking the usual value of the Modulus of Elasticity of wrought iron, I have tested the stiffness of these beams; and I am very glad to be able to state that the beams are within the prescribed safe limits; stiffness has been secured without any unnecessary waste of material.” (*Ibid.*, p. 153).

(3) “Iron lintels are largely noticed in Puri and Bhubanesvara temples. I shall only deal with the iron beams of the temple at Konarka. The floor area of the Jagamohan is 40 ft. square; the walls rise straight up to the height of 40 ft., whence bracketing inward commences till the length and breadth contract to 20 ft.; here the joists have been laid with flags of stone on them. The beams and lintels are of high-class wrought iron. The maximum length of the beams of Konarka is 35' 9", and cross section 7" square.” (*Ibid.*, p. 260)

(4) “Several iron beams lie scattered near the Jagamohan. These were either lintels or beams supporting the ceiling and the architrave. I give the dimensions of a few of them.”

(a) An iron beam on the south-east of the Jagamohan:—Length = 20' 10". It has, however, marks at the two ends up to a length of 2' 6" on each side; these

marks indicate the portions to be inserted in the walls. The clear length accordingly is 25' 10", and hence the beam was meant as a lintel for supporting an architrave. The depths of the beam at the two ends are 8 and 11 inches respectively; the central depth is 11 inches. This is indicative of great engineering skill. I have referred to it in chapter V." (*Ibid.*, p. 405).

(5) "Various theories are advanced as to the manufacture of the iron beams. It is a matter of great wonder how such huge joists of wrought iron could be forged and the difficulty is aggravated by the curvilinear form that has been imparted to the surface. Those who have studied Metallurgy know full well how tedious and difficult a process it is to extract iron by smelting the ores. The engineers of those days were not conversant with the fourfold principles of Refining, Puddling, Shingling, and Rolling, nor with the modern methods of preparing platemetal puddleballs, and blooms, nor had they the appliances and machinery that modern science has contrived after the lapse of many centuries; the Aryan engineers even did not know how to prepare hot blast. All these considerations should make us pause awhile before sweeping remarks of reproach and contumely are levelled against them." (*Ibid.*, pp. 261-2).

(6) "In India we have instances of iron manufacture existing for a long time. The iron pillar at Delhi is more wonderful than the iron beams of Orissa. I quote the following from an address delivered on the 13th April, 1905 by the President of the Institute of Mechanical Engineers, England. "While considering forging of large masses of iron and steel, it is not easy to forget the impression caused by first seeing the Iron Pillar at Delhi. This column of wrought iron, which is 16 inches in diameter, of which 22 feet are above the ground and which is said to be 50 feet long and weighing about 18 tons, is finished perfectly round and smooth, with an ornamental top, and was made many centuries ago from iron produced direct from the ore and built up piece by piece. Remembering the lack of facilities men had in those days for first forging and then welding together such an enormous mass, one wonders at the iron-worker of those days, who must have possessed engineering ability claiming the admiration of our times. It is questionable whether the whole of the iron-works of Europe could have produced a similar column of wrought iron so short a time ago as the Exhibition of 1851." (*Ibid.*, pp. 264-66). Note by the Editor:—The famous iron pillar of Chandragupta II (5th century A.D.) of the Gupta dynasty, near the Kütub Minar at Delhi is a solid iron shaft of wrought iron 24 feet in height, weighing no less than 6 tons.

(7) "It is a matter of great regret that the Orissan iron beams or lintels are not painted now by the P. W. D. so as to withstand the oxidising influence of the atmosphere. The Mahomedan historian Abul Faiz saw them painted." (*Ibid.*, p. 262). Note by the Editor—"The life of iron-work when not excluded from the air depends absolutely on its thin skin of paint."—Sir Thomas Jackson, R.A.

(8) The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. G. Woodroffe of the Calcutta High Court, in his "Introduction" to Sj. Manomohan Ganguly's *Orissa and Her Remains* writes as follows:—"Chapter VII deals with the building materials used and the author has made an analysis of these and of the metal beams such as those which are found at Konarak. It has been discovered that whereas only 36 years ago the average tensile strength of wrought iron was in England 23 tons per square inch, the ancient Orissan metal work shows a strength of 20 tons per square inch." Mr. Justice Woodroffe's statements are based on the results of the testing narrated at length in Mr. Ganguly's book on pages 262-264.

It is necessary to explain that the word *Jagamohana* (or *Mohana*) "is the structure next to the Vimana or *sanctum* and made of a cubical portion surmounted by a pyramidal spire formed by *pidas* or projecting cornices or brackets."

(B)

We invite the reader's attention to the following statements made by Dr. James Fergusson in his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (the quotations are from the 1899 edition published by John Murray, Albemarle Street, London), while dealing with the iron beams used at Konarak, and the Iron Pillar at Delhi respectively :—

(1) "Internally the chamber [the Jagamohan of the Kanarak temple] is plain, but presents some constructive peculiarities worthy of attention. On the floor it is about 40 ft. square, and the walls rise plain to about the same height. Here it begins to bracket inwards till it contracts to about 20 ft. where it was ceiled with a flat stone roof supported by wrought-iron beams—Stirling says nine, nearly 1 ft. square by 12 ft. to 18 ft. long. My measurements made the section less...8 in. to 9 in., but the length greater, 23 ft.; and Babu Rajendra" (afterwards Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra) "points out that one, 21 ft. long, has a square section of 8 in. at the end, but a depth of 11 in. in the centre, showing a knowledge of the properties and strength of the material that is remarkable in a people who are now so utterly incapable of forging such masses. The iron pillar at Delhi is even a more remarkable example than this and no satisfactory explanation has yet been given as to the mode in which it was manufactured." (*Ibid.*, p. 428).

(2) "One of the most interesting objects connected with this mosque (attached to the Kutub Minar, Delhi) is the iron pillar which stands—and apparently always has stood—in the centre of its courtyard. It now stands 22 ft. above the ground, and as the depth under the pavement is now ascertained to be only 20 in., the total height is 23 ft. 8 in. Its diameter at the base is 16 $\frac{1}{4}$ in., at the capital 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. The capital is 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high, and is sharply and clearly wrought into the Persian form that makes it look as if it belonged to an earlier period than it does....Taking A.D. 400 as a mean date—and it certainly is not far from the truth—it opens our eyes to an unsuspected state of affairs to find the Hindus at that age capable of forging a bar of iron larger than any that have been forged even in Europe up to a very late date, and not frequently even now. As we find them, however, a few centuries afterwards using bars as long as this pillar in roofing the porch of the temple at Kanaruc, we must now believe that they were much more familiar with the use of this metal than they afterwards became. It is almost equally startling to find that, after an exposure to wind and rain for fourteen centuries, it is unrusted, and the capital and inscription are as clear and as sharp now as when put up fourteen centuries ago....There is no mistake as to the pillar being of pure iron. General Cunningham had a bit of it analysed in India by Dr. Murray and another portion was analysed in the School of Mines here by Dr. Percy. Both found it pure malleable iron without any alloy." (*Ibid.*, pp. 507-8).

N. B.—Students anxious to pursue the subject further would do well to consult a Paper read by Sir Robert Hadfield, F.R.S., on Iron and Steel of Ancient Origin at a meeting of the Iron and Steel Institute, London, an abstract of which appeared in the June 6, 1912 issue of Nature, the well-known English scientific weekly of London. In that Paper the author states that "the claim of India to a discovery (of the art of making steel) which had exercised more influence upon the arts conduced to civilisation and the manufacturing industry than any other in the whole range of human invention was altogether unquestioned." Sir Robert Hadfield refers

in his Paper to the contributions on the some subject by Mr. J. M. Heath to the Royal Asiatic Society in 1837 and 1839 and supports Mr. Heath's conclusions. "The antiquity and excellence of the Indian knowledge in iron," observes Sir George Watt, K.T., C.I.E., in his monumental work, *Indian Art At Delhi*, 1903 (published by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta) "may be judged of from the famous iron pillar at the Kutab near Delhi, from the numerous examples of wrought iron, also hammered and perforated brass gates, at the forts and tombs of India, and from the superb collections of ancient arms to be found in the armouries of India." (*Ibid.*, p. 14) The student is further referred to two articles on *Indian Metallurgical Knowledge* appearing in Part III of the October and December, 1912 numbers of this magazine.

2. "Here, where many generations of paper-architects have killed the building tradition"—

With reference to the above, the reader's attention is specially drawn to the following observations of a distinguished living architect, Sir T. G. Jackson, R.A., M.A., F.S.A.—"The modern architect sits in his office and directs his work, which lies north, south, east, and west throughout the land, by letter and drawing. His own handiwork seldom goes beyond the drawing-board, and his ideas are translated into brick and stone, wood and metal, by others, under his casual and infrequent personal superintendence..... It may easily be understood that an architect living on the site, spending his whole time on his building and working on it with his hands, would find many opportunities, for original design than one who made his plans a hundred miles away, and perhaps seldom saw the work before it was finished.....In order to seize these opportunities the architect must be on the spot and when this ceased to be the practice, and the craftsman-architect gave way at the Renaissance to the professional architect, architecture inevitably stiffened into matter of rule and precedent, *worked out on paper* and rigidly enforced on the workman." (Vide pp. 10-12, *Reason in Architecture*, by T. G. Jackson; London, John Murray, 1905). So also another eminent living architect, Mr. C. R. Ashbee, M.A., F.R.I.B.A., in his *Craftsmanship in Competitive Industry* (p. 128) observes :—"There is nothing like actual work upon buildings for bringing one into touch with the realities of labour, and the significance of machinery. The architect who sits in his office, makes designs and specifications and manipulates Committees, does not understand these things, as does the architect who is on the building, striving to get at good work, and finds out why his workmen cannot give it him." In this connection may be read certain remarks by the same writer in his *Should We Stop Teaching Art?* (London, B. T. Batsford, 94 High Holborn, 1912), p. 63. After referring to the usual practice of the professional architect as mentioned above, Mr. Ashbee says :—"I have done my building both in town and country, on old buildings and on new. It is significant that many young architects are beginning themselves to do practical building, i.e., working on the building and giving up the office." The conditions under which building work in India is conducted under the Public Works Department of the Government of India are hardly, it seems, different from those mentioned above, so far as the architect is concerned. Thus, Mr. John Begg, F.R.I.B.A., the present Consulting Architect to the Government of India, in his *Annual Report on Architectural Work in India* (1909-1910) makes the following admissions :—"It is to my mind one of the chief defects of the Indian System—that the designer of work cannot always be the constructor, especially in the case of architectural work. It is good for the work so treated and it is better for the architect that his designs should be based on an experience of actual work in the country, and that he should not be merely a *paper-architect*."

IV. EDITORIAL COMMENTS

"The closing years of the nineteenth century," observes Mr. P. L. Waterhouse, M.A., A.R.I.B.A., in his monograph on Architecture,* "fore-shadowed the vast influence which the extensive use of iron is to exercise in the future upon architectural works and upon all forms of design. *Commercial buildings* are now becoming nothing more than gigantic frameworks of iron and steel covered with a clothing of masonry. 'For thousands of years,' as a recent writer puts it, 'every large building in the world was constructed with enormous walls of masonry to hold up the inner framework of floors and partitions. It was a substantial and worthy method of construction and there seemed no need of changing it. But one day a daring builder, with an idea, astonished the world by reversing this order of construction, and building an inner framework strong enough to hold up the outside walls of masonry; and today the construction of a tall building is *not architecture, but engineering with a stone veneer*'" (*Ibid.*, p. 205).

The extensive use of iron-work in architecture in England would appear for the present to have been mainly confined to *commercial buildings*, which are, to use the language of the authority just quoted, "gigantic frameworks of iron and steel covered with a clothing of masonry." Sir T. G. Jackson, M.A., R.A., F.S.A., an eminent living English architect, in his *Reason in Architecture* (which gives the substance of his Professorial Lectures at the Royal Academy of Arts in the year 1906)—also explains that the extensive use of ironwork is primarily due to the conditions imposed by the "modern open shop-front." Observes Sir Thomas Jackson,—"An age of puff and self-advertisement demands that in a street of shops the whole front wall of the ground floor shall disappear, and the upper floor should be carried on *iron girders*... If in spite of the recent warnings we have had of the perils of iron-construction, the modern open shop-front is to continue, we should boldly face the condition and try what can be done to treat it artistically... If we are to make iron our main constructive element, we must break with the old traditions of brick and stone and adopt a method of design more suitable to the new material. (*Ibid.*, pp. 167 and 169).

It appears that Sir Bradford Leslie would desire to introduce an era of iron and steel framework for our larger modern public buildings in India—although for the present at any rate, as we have seen from the extracts we have made from two well-known authorities, such construction is mostly limited to the case of Western *commercial buildings*. In his Paper read at the Society of Arts meeting, Sir Bradford Leslie says,—"Recently a new type of structural architecture has been introduced by which the weight and the wind stresses are sustained by a steel frame, and walls cease to carry the weight and become mere partitions." And he goes on to advocate the use of steel framework for the *larger* public buildings to be erected at the New Delhi. "Ordinary methods of construction, without steel framework, will continue to be used in less im-

* London : Hodder and Stoughton : 1912.

portant houses and private residences. "And Sir Bradford goes on to argue that the adoption of the *Renaissance style* of architecture such as finds favour in England is hardly suited to the conditions imposed by the new constructional methods necessitated by the use of iron and steel framework, with its entire system of girders, stanchions, joists &c., to give stability to the main building, the function of masonry walls being no longer, as hitherto, "to hold up the inner framework of floors and partitions," but to serve "as partitions" merely.

The question has been raised whether the construction of a tall building, which in effect is but "a cage of stanchions and joists," a "cage of steel and concrete," would be architecture at all. This reign of *ferro-concrete*, as it has been aptly styled, is proclaimed by many to sound the death-knell of all true architecture. It has been laid down by a high authority in somewhat emphatic form that "iron is an artistic solecism, impossible for architectural service now or at any time." This opinion has been pronounced to be somewhat extreme, but nevertheless it does appear that in England at any rate iron has not yet lent itself quite to artistic and architectural uses. "The girder that carries the whole front above is concealed by name-boards or facias, and the iron stanchions are rendered invisible by a casing of looking-glasses," with the result that "the whole building appears to the eye to stand on the edge of sheets of plate-glass." (Vide *Reason in Architecture*, p. 168). Mr. R. F. Chisholm, F. R. I. B. A., also, towards the close of a review of Mr. Havell's *Essays on Indian Art, Industry and Education* in the pages of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October 1911 (p. 320), makes the following somewhat startling statement—"After all, *is it profitable to write about Architecture at all? Is it not passing away?* Has not King Ferro-concrete commenced his reign? He may be hidden for a time in India, as he is being hidden in Europe and America, by ridiculous cages of skin-deep (*renaissance*) architecture, but as the great public become educated, a truer treatment will be demanded, and the demand met." Or, as the same authority has put it in another form more recently (vide *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January 1913, p. 112)—"The real architecture of the present moment is ferro-concrete. We have seen the colossal cage of steel and concrete which forms the real building, and speculated on the fashion of its clothing."

Thus, the new structural methods demanded by the *commercial* needs of the West, as explained above, have not yet succeeded in developing a new style of architecture for the West; for the "clothing of masonry" which covers the "gigantic frameworks of iron and steel" is not "architecture, but engineering with a stone veneer" (see p. 12 ante), or, as Mr. Chisholm puts it, is mere "skin-deep architecture." Apparently, both Sir Bradford Leslie and Mr. R. F. Chisholm (who in this matter appears to follow Sir Bradford very closely indeed) are of opinion that although on account of the inauguration of the regime of *ferro-concrete*, architecture properly so called has almost ceased to be, yet in India at any rate there is the possibility of the evolution of a style of artistic treatment of iron and steel at the hands of the hereditary Indian craftsmen-builders, of whom great things may be expected. And Sir Bradford would christen this "new style of art suited to the climate and the modern system

of construction" to be evolved by Indians, as "Indo-European." And so, on the assumption that in the New Delhi, the era of ferro-concrete will be inaugurated with great *eclat*, Mr. R. F. Chisholm who is a great admirer of the Indian craftsmen-builders makes the following appeal to the authorities in India:—"Surely the Government of India might allow the native artisan to clothe the cage of stanchions and joists in his own way so that he could take a wholesome delight in his work, and not sink into that state of mental slavery which kills every noble and aspiring thought. As soon as the native artist and artizan grasp the bearings of the case, as soon as they realise the excellence and great capabilities of steel and concrete construction, they will run away with the rulers as surely as their forefathers ran away with their Moslem rulers, and evolve a true style." (Vide *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1913, p. 112.)

Thus, then, it is clear that the new method of construction by which, in the language of Sir Bradford Leslie, "the weight and wind stresses are sustained by steel frames, and walls cease to carry the weight and become mere partitions," does not lend itself quite to the architectural treatment that is sought to be accorded to it by the so-called Renaissance artists of the present day, for the resultant architecture becomes "not architecture, but only engineering with a stone veneer," which is but a paraphrase for Mr. Chisholm's expressive phrase, "skin-deep architecture" "If we are to make iron", observes Sir Thomas Jackson, in his *Reason in Architecture*, "our main constructive element, we must break with the old traditions of brick and stone, and adopt a method of design more suitable to the new material." But this new method of design suitable to the conditions imposed by ironwork on building has not yet originated, and it stands to reason that the New Delhi should not be made the arena for conducting new experiments, with the object of pushing forward the claims of iron and steel as constructive elements capable of being put not merely to the service of engineering, but also of architecture.

But the further question arises,—Granted that the element of great tensional strength and rigidity of iron is a factor in its favour, could we argue that the new mode of building with steel framework, which has only very, very recently indeed come into vogue, would stand the test of time? Apparently it is thought by some at any rate that everything points unmistakeably to the use of iron and steel as the predominating factors in the building work of the future. But the question which we would submit for consideration is—Has the West had sufficient experience in the use of steel and iron as the main elements in the construction of public buildings—apart from all question of architecture—to be able to pronounce an authoritative verdict, that iron construction has after all passed its experimental stage? If, however, a final affirmative verdict may not be pronounced—and in this matter the authority of a single expert like Sir Bradford Leslie must not be deemed conclusive—it stands to reason that the Government of India would not be justified in inaugurating the reign of King Ferro-concrete in the new Capital. For ourselves, we have no opinion in the matter. But the question of the use of iron and steel framework is

not, we suspect, wholly free from difficulties—difficulties not merely affecting the architecture, but also the stability, of public buildings. "We have begun to use iron in Anglo-Indian buildings because it is so used in Europe," observes Mr. Havell. And our submission to the Government of India is that the question of the fitness (or otherwise) of iron construction for the larger public buildings at the New Delhi, which is advocated by Sir Bradford Leslie, should be thoroughly threshed out by them and that no final step should be taken unless a complete unanimity of opinion be arrived at. In the meantime, we would place before the Government the following critical observations on the subject made by a competent living authority, himself an architect of no mean eminence, Sir T. G. Jackson, R.A., in the course of one of his Professorial Lectures at the Royal Academy in the year 1906:—

"Whether or no this mode of building will continue is a question that cannot be adequately discussed here. Iron construction is still in an experimental stage; we do not yet know how it will stand the test of time. Meanwhile, all experience hitherto tends to show that an architect who wishes his building to go down to posterity will do wisely to let iron play as small a part in his construction as possible. It has been prophesied that thirty years hence no one will employ iron in his buildings, at all events as the main element in their fabric. The failure of a single tie-rod seems to have been the cause of the collapse of the roof at Charing Cross Station, and it is certain that no monster roof of that kind will ever be put up again. [I have it on the authority of a member of his family that the contractor who put the largest of these monster roofs said at the time that they would not last, and that something would happen within about forty years. Something has happened to one of them sooner than he expected. A well-known civil engineer tells me that his rule is never to employ iron when he can use brick or stone.] To say nothing of great railway and other engineering works, it is disquieting to think of the miles and miles of streets in London and other towns where the whole of the upper storeys rest on girders accessible to atmospheric changes, liable to rust and fatigue and possible injury by vibration, which no one can examine and which cannot be repainted. This, however, is beyond the scope of our subject; the lesson for us as artists is that we have missed the opportunity of advancing our art in a new direction which a new mode of construction should have suggested." (Vide pp. 171-172, *Reason in Architecture*: London, John Murray, 1906).

Errata: In Part III of this number, on p. 5, line 12, read *by His* for
by his His; also, p. 5, line 34, read *architecture* for *archireture*.

SECTION II: STUDENTS' COLUMN

THE BALKAN STATES AND THEIR POPULATIONS

The following Table* will throw light upon the distribution of the Christian and Moslem populations in the different States which are to be found today in the Balkan Peninsula. The interest in the figures given below arises at the present moment from the circumstance that Turkey is now at war with three of the Balkan States given in the table, Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro, which have succeeded in all but wresting from the grasp of the Turks their provinces of Albania and Macedonia; Bosnia and Herzegovina having been taken away by the Government of Austria by diplomatic action about three years back, when the Turkish Revolution was introducing a new order of things in Turkey. Roumania, another Balkan State, originally a Turkish possession, has hitherto kept neutral in the present war, although she is understood to favour Turkey.

	Sq. miles.	Population.	Religion.
Albania	13,000	1,500,000	900,000 Moslems ; 600,000 Christians.
Bosnia and Herzegovina	19,696	1,568,092	43 per cent. are Orthodox Christians ; 21 per cent. Roman Catholics ; 35 per cent. Moslems.
Bulgaria	37,240	4,200,000	3,019,000 Orthodox Christians ; 28,560 Roman Catholics ; 138,000 Armenians ; 33,000 Jews ; 643,000 Moslems.
Macedonia	20,000	2,200,000	1,300,000 Christians belonging to various branches of the Christian Church, 800,000 Moslems, 75,000 Jews.
Montenegro	3,255	312,000	293,527 Orthodox Christians ; 12,493 Moslems ; 5,544 Jews.
Roumania	50,720	7,000,000	6,000,000 Orthodox Eastern Church, self-governed ; 300,000 Jews.
Servia	18,782	3,000,000	Orthodox Eastern Church, self-governed : 80 per cent. Serbo-Croatians ; 100,000 Rumans ; 47,000 Gipsies, 5,000 Jews.

* The Rev. C. R. D. Biggs, D.D., Secretary of the *Eastern Church Association* is responsible for the figures given in the Table, which is reproduced from the January, 1913 issue of *THE EAST AND THE WEST*, the London organ of the S. P. G.—Editor.

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No. 3

MARCH 1913

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The Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine

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1. The (London) *Morning Post* on the New Delhi Problem : Claims of an *Indian* Treatment of Indian Architecture under British Auspices
2. The Building of the New Capital: Claims of a *European* Treatment of Indian Architecture under British Auspices
3. Claims of Indian Craftsmanship from the Point of View of the British Empire
4. The Government of India and the Architecture of the New Delhi

Part II : Topics for Discussion

(Nil—Space not available in this number)

Part III

Section I: Indian Educational and Allied Movements

(Nil—Space not available in this number)

Section II: Students' Column

(Nil—Space not available in this number)

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VOL. XVI
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MARCH 1913

WHOLE
No. 183

PART I: INDIANA

THE (LONDON) MORNING POST ON THE NEW DELHI PROBLEM CLAIMS OF AN INDIAN TREATMENT OF INDIAN ARCHI- TECTURE UNDER BRITISH AUSPICES

[PREFATORY NOTE BY THE EDITOR.—The following striking contribution to the New Delhi Problem which pithily sums up one important aspect of the Indian side of the question appeared as the leading article in the London *Morning Post* of January 22, 1913. It is no small gratification to us, Indians, that such remarkable support of the claims of the indigenous architecture of India has been forthcoming in one of the most influential of English journals of London. We need hardly say that we accept in toto the views expressed therein as accurately representative of our own views on the subject, which we have already discussed at considerable length in the May, June, August and December issues of this journal. We feel that the Indian point of view, thanks to the unsparing efforts of Mr. E. B. Havell and others, is being more and more appreciated in England, and that there is hope, notwithstanding that our leaders here in India (whose training and predilections have been unfortunately mainly political) are sadly inappreciative of the great issues involved in a right solution of the Delhi question,—that the New Delhi Problem will be so approached by the Government, both here and in England, that the Art and Architecture of India shall be given that predominant consideration which is undoubtedly their due.]



We are desirous of setting before our readers an aspect of the Delhi problem which is apt to be overlooked. There are two sides to the present controversy. One side advocates the employment of English architects and a European, probably Renaissance, style of architecture. The other side insists upon the claims of Indian architects and Indian craftsmen to a full share in the work. Both sides ground their case on the basis of artistic efficiency. The English party argues that no style of architecture in the least worthy of so great an occasion could possibly spring from other than European sources ; while the Indian party is equally positive that Indian Art is best able to supply an adequate conception of an Indian Capital. The reader, pondering on either line of argument, adopts the standpoint common to both. It seems to him that it is simply a question of which side can produce the best architecture. We want the new capital to be as fine a city as possible. Will the necessary effect of fineness be most likely to be produced by the Renaissance tradition working through English architects, or by the Indian tradition working through Indian architects? Is there anything but the architectural effect to be considered? *Does anything else matter?* We are quite sure that the question only needs to be considered with a little more attention for it to be seen that there is something else to be considered, and something that matters very considerably. It is not a fair way of presenting a great architectural opportunity to treat it as a matter of abstract art. Among the influences which act upon a nation's life, which lend significance and coherence to its labour, and tend to dignify toil by providing it with an intelligible purpose, architecture is the chief. What we call *style* in building is the effect of national self-expression, in which the language used is a language of the hands instead of the tongue. It is participated in by all forms of labour, and the same motives which direct the builder also inspire a number of subordinate crafts, and in general, the creative industry of the country. Unfortunately, it is such a long time since architecture in Europe was thus regarded as the *inspiration and leader of the national labour* that we have allowed ourselves to forget how potent and how invigorating its influence at such times may become. *For several centuries architecture with us has been a matter, not of creative energy, but of archaeological research and investigation.* Dealing in structural forms and methods—a structural language, in short—of classical origin and totally foreign to the national character and instinct, it was natural that the art of building should come to be regarded rather as a subject to be controlled and supervised by experts and specialists and professors than by native builders and masons and the foremen and representatives of English

labour. The change is quite clear-cut in the history of architecture. Classic motives supplanted national in the latter half of the sixteenth century, and the architect or specialist coming into being at precisely the same date was generated by the need for supervising methods of construction which English workmen did not understand or take the least interest in.

Not that we share the opinion of some critics that architects were responsible for the revolution. They came when they had to come, and the weakening of communal life, the decline of the guilds, and the relaxation of the spirit of citizenship were some of the causes which led to their appearance. Yet having once entrenched themselves in possession of architecture, the tendency of their action and teaching is undoubtedly to propagate and maintain what may be called the *professorial* view of the subject. They teach that architecture is a technical profession which requires to be judged and handled by professors of the art especially trained in its mysteries. That view, under steadfast prompting, the public has pretty generally accepted, and *architecture is now with us no longer a matter in which the national labour can freely and intelligently co-operate, nor even in which the average citizen can interest himself as an expression of the feelings and ideas of himself and his race*, but a strictly enclosed preserve in which a certain number of building Brahmins go through their stately evolutions for each other's delectations, while an occasional passer-by stops to peep through a hole in the hedge and wonder what it is all about. All that English life has lost and all that English labour has lost by this total separation of architecture from life and labour it would take us long to indicate. But hitherto, at any rate, the loss has been our own. We have allowed ourselves to drift into a false view of the subject, and to accept an archaeological or academic standard of judgment in regard to it. This has been bad for us in many ways, but as yet we have only hurt ourselves. The tragedy within a tragedy occurs when, being called upon to adjudicate for a foreign race, we proceed to force our standard upon them and by main force fasten round their neck the yoke we long ago bound upon our own. Only, in the case of India, of course, that yoke is even more irksome; for, whereas between ourselves and classic art there may exist at least a kind of cultured and intellectual affinity, between India and classic art there exists an absolute and entire estrangement. It is as though an all-conquering China should inflict upon England a new Capital in the pagoda style, by way of encouraging our loyalty and esteem for the Celestial Empire. Were it not that structural forms have become totally divested of any kind of human significance, we should be struck by what there was incongruous and ridiculous in attempting to force Indian life into the forms and moulds evolved by

Latin life. But we are meditating something far more serious than a piece of artistic incongruity. That the imposition upon a country of a foreign style of building is bound to have a paralysing effect on its creative output and labour generally is a proposition which must not only seem inevitably true to every thinking mind, but the truth of which we have ourselves proved up to the hilt by our own melancholy experience. Yet this is the action we meditate in regard to India. We deliberately contemplate inflicting upon Indian life an artistic ideal with which Indian life has not one impulse in common and toward which no creative instinct in Indian character can ever naturally turn. This means that we are preparing to administer the coup de grace to native Indian architecture and craftsmanship by reducing them to merely mechanical occupations carried out, if carried out at all, in obedience to foreign instruction.

We do not think that is an over-statement. That there does still exist in India, despite official influence and the assiduous discouragement of the Public Works Department, a living tradition of art and craftsmanship is a matter which, we think we may say, admits of proof. This is a point on which we have not only the emphatic judgment of so competent a critic as FERGUSSON, and not only the testimony of numbers of experienced observers who speak out of an intimate personal knowledge of the subject, but, what is even more irrefutable, we have the evidence of large and important buildings such as the Munshi Ghat and Ghosla Ghat at Benares, with their massive river-facades, buttressed with columns, supporting upper storeys of delicate arcades—architectural achievements of quite unquestioned vigour and coherence—and the Ramnagar Temple, and the modern architecture of Gwalior, besides many other examples, which seem to prove beyond doubt the survival of a native tradition of not yet outworn vitality. *On the other hand, it is acknowledged that owing to systematic discouragement, native art in India is on the decline,* and maintains its ground with difficulty in certain native States remote from the official English influence. The Indian character and temperament are peculiarly susceptible to the kind of discouragement which springs from the non-recognition of their ideals by the ruling powers, and even the native Princes, who should be the natural protectors of the national tradition, are strongly influenced by fashions which receive the countenance of the Imperial Government. Hence we believe it is not too much to say that the building of the new Capital will, for good or ill, prove a decisive crisis. If native talent and invention are allowed free play and receive their full meed of recognition, the result can scarcely fail to be a renewal of prestige to Indian art, affording such a stimulus as may lead to a renaissance of the native arts and crafts, together with

all the good effects which such a renaissance would be bound to have on Indian life and labour. *If native talent is ignored and passed over, the result is likely to be, as we have said, the coup de grâce for Indian art and craftsmanship.* Can anyone, intelligently interested in the future of the Indian people or of our rule in India, be indifferent on such a question? The present Government, with whom the decision will ultimately rest, are used to expressing democratic sympathies. *Is their notion of popular rights confined to politics only?* We venture to say that the present crisis involves consequences far more intimate to the happiness of the Indian people than the giving or withholding of votes. There needs, it would seem, to deal worthily with so great an occasion, a man of more than official calibre. A BURKE, a BEACONFIELD, a GLADSTONE, men whose minds were illuminated with the imaginative sympathy which transcends politics, would have known how to turn it to account. Let it be remembered that there are two India-s. The intellectual element in Indian life, largely influenced by Western thought, has learnt how to formulate its demands and articulate its ideas. But besides the Intellectual India, there is the India of the Indian People, an India not receptive of European progress or of the methods of a civilisation that is strange to it, but whose hope lies in its being given the opportunity to develop and express its own inherent sentiments and aspirations. In the long run, the success of our Indian Rule will, perhaps, depend less on the exact measure of encouragement given to Intellectual India than on our capacity to sympathise with the India of the Indian People.* The building of the New Capital will afford an exacting test of our capability in this latter direction.

* The sentiments here expressed in the concluding sentences of this remarkable article, remarkable for its having hit off so well and accurately the Indian side of the question,—appear to be an important corroboration of our own views on the subject as expressed in the following extracts taken from an article, *New Delhi Architecture and the Government Proposals*, in the August, 1912 issue of this Journal :—“In this matter the responsible authorities need to recognise that there are at the present moment two India-s, the India of the Indian leaders, and the India of the Indian People, and that the two India-s are emotionally (and therefore essentially) not homogeneous. The educated intellect of India has been, or is being progressively captured by European Rationalism and has been more or less successful in starting a European movement in this country,—a movement in which the leaders and *their* intelligence and capacity (and not those of the *people*) are necessarily of supreme importance; and which seeks to impose a drastic reform on European lines from above. But the *heart of India*, its passion, its emotional enthusiasms, have not been and cannot be, so far as we could see, captured by the idea of the Europeanisation of the country. The *heart of India* is represented by the India of the Indian People abiding by the Indian traditions; and is not represented by the India of the Indian leaders governed by European methods and practices.

“The ideal of Indian imperialism, or the ideal of Indian unity realised through a whole-hearted devotion or surrender to the ideal Monarch,—such an ideal of imperialism (or call it nationalism, if you like)—though it might not perhaps lend itself to the principles of a latter-day democratic rationalism affected by the India of the Indian leaders—has nevertheless been the traditional ideal dear to the heart of India—the India of the Indian People. And it is this India representing the larger part of the country, which needs to be approached and taken by the hand to co-operate with the Government in the grand imperial scheme of which the erection of a new capital at India’s imperial city may fittingly represent the beginnings. The building of the Imperial Capital at Delhi thus places in the hands of the Government a mighty and beneficent instrument by whose aid the Government can, if it chooses, direct and regulate the course of Indian Unity along traditional lines and also realise in its favour an enormous accession of *popular* goodwill.”

THE BUILDING OF THE NEW CAPITAL : CLAIMS OF A EUROPEAN TREATMENT OF INDIAN ARCHITECTURE UNDER BRITISH AUSPICES—I

I

The controversy on the subject of the New Delhi Architecture derives much of its interest and importance from the fact that behind the ostensible issues raised and discussed, there is a more fundamental issue awaiting decision which seems to affect vitally all presentation of the New Delhi problem by European artists and writers generally. Behind the issue of the Indian *versus* the European style, lies the greater issue—"What is the architectural art which has marked—or is to mark—the period of the British occupation of the Indian Peninsula?" It was in this form that the problem was presented at a Meeting of the Royal Society of Arts on the 28th February, 1873 by Mr. T. Roger Smith, F. R. I. B. A., and it appears that the views propounded by that gentleman on the occasion have been more or less echoed by many of the European artists and critics who have since entered upon a discussion of the New Delhi Problem. But in 1873, as now, there were among European gentlemen also, supporters of the Indian point of view and in the course of the discussion that followed the reading of Mr. Smith's Paper, we find Mr. (now Sir) William Emerson, F. R. I. B. A., expressing the following opinion:—"He did not agree with the conclusion of the reader of the Paper, that the conqueror should carry into the conquered nation a new style of architecture. He thought the course pursued by the Mahomedans was infinitely preferable. They adapted their architecture to that of the conquered country. European architecture would scarcely suit the requirements of the country. Indeed it was impossible for the architecture of the West to be suitable to the nations of the East, and the Mahomedan buildings were found to work well."* Indeed, the preparation of Mr. Roger Smith's Paper read before the Society of Arts seems to have been originally inspired by the idea of combating the view that, in a consideration of Anglo-Indian Architecture, i. e., of Architecture which should "mark the period of the British occupation of the Indian Peninsula," the claims of the indigenous architecture should have a determining voice. Mr. Smith's idea was, as expressed in his Paper—"We shall be likely to succeed best if we are not too anxious to incorporate much of the art or style of the country with our own." But a far different opinion having been held even at that distance of time by some men of high official standing, by men for instance, like Lord Napier of Magdala, Mr. Smith set himself to the task of combating their views,—views which would assign to the indigenous architecture other than a subordinate place in the work of building up the architecture of the future for India. Thus we read,—"A far different opinion has, however been held, and the propriety of buildings for European use in India being even European in character *is so far from commanding*

* *Vide pp. 286-87 of the Journal of the Society of Arts, March 7th, 1873.*

general assent, that I find in a report of a lecture on Architecture delivered by Lord Napier,** the conclusion arrived at that the Government of India would do well to consider whether the Mussalman forms might not be adopted generally as the official style of architecture" (paragraph 21 of Mr. Roger Smith's Paper).

Further, there is evidence that if at the time when Mr. Roger Smith wrote his Paper for the Society of Arts, opinion was divided as to the feasibility or desirability of transplanting Europeanism to India, a similar difference of opinion on the subject still divides experts. Thus, to quote only one instance, we note that not very long ago in the course of a discussion on a Paper on *European Architecture in India* by Mr. James Ransome, F. R. I. B. A., the first Consulting Architect to the Government of India (1902-1907) read before the Royal Institute of British Architects (23rd January, 1905), the opinion was expressed by one architectural authority, Mr. W. H. Atkin Berry, F. R. I. B. A., that "it was a fatal thing to attempt to transplant the traditional characteristics of other countries to one so entirely different as India. Even if our best architects were to put their best efforts into purely *European* characteristics for building in India, they would fail. To be successful, an architect must seriously study the traditional architecture of the country (India). It was a difficult subject and difficult to grasp properly; but he believed that such grasp was really an essential secret of success." †

II

It appears to us, as we have said, that behind all the discussions that have been and are being carried on in regard to the form of architecture suitable to the building of the new capital is the power of the European sentiment, shared in by the majority of English officials and residents in India, that it is highly desirable to build in this country in "some familiar European style," but "with due attention to the requirements of climate." The method of going about to work in the matter of European architecture for India would be—as was very clearly stated by a distinguished Anglo-Indian official expert, some years ago—"by making use of what is familiar and beautiful in European styles, by searching out and selecting features in those styles suitable to the varying climates of India, and by avoiding characteristics unsuitable out here under a burning sun or a tropical downpour of rain." For, argued the same

** It is noteworthy that Lord Napier of Magdala, who is still living, is a signatory to a most influentially signed Petition presented on the 6th February 1913, to Lord Crewe, the Secretary of State for India, drawing attention to the claims of the indigenous master-builders of India for employment on the building of the New Capital. The full text with the names of the signatories numbering 175 is given in the (London) *Times* for February 7, 1913. The *Times* introduces the Petition with the following words:—"A Petition signed by a large number of persons of distinction in arts, letters, sciences, religion, commerce, and public life and urging the desirability of the employment of Indian master-builders and craftsmen in the construction of the New City of Delhi was presented to Lord Crewe yesterday."

† *Vide* p. 201 of *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, Third Series, vol. xii, 1904-5.

authority,—“It is unreasonable to expect to successfully meet our wants by transplanting unmodified, secular or ecclesiastical styles of European buildings. Although by so doing we may secure the shadow of a familiar memory we cannot be surprised at the elements of discomfort which are imported by our want of originality and forethought. There is scarcely a church in India which is bearable in hot weather, and people unwillingly leave their cooler bungalows to perspire and suffer under the insufficient comfort of the Sunday punkha! Although ours is not an Asiatic art, *it is no hopeless task* for Englishmen to bring the traditions of their familiar architectural styles to India, without doing offence to their comfort and habits. But at present it cannot be said that there is cause to be satisfied with our efforts. All the more should we feel this dissatisfaction as we are surrounded by fine native buildings and by types of native architecture admirable alike for their good principles and taste. It is not the object of this Note to allude to Hindu or Mahomedan styles of architecture, but there can be no doubt that if these styles are to be perpetuated, natives should have the opportunity, under proper organisation, of studying the fine works that India has produced from the earliest time.”*

The above gives, we imagine, a correct picture of the state of feelings and ideas among the majority of Europeans, officials and others resident in India, who call for Europeanism in Indian architecture. And so in the London *Times* of November 9, 1912, we read the following very characteristic sentences:—“*The style must be our own*, though obviously it must be Indian too in the sense of being framed to suit the Indian light, the Indian climate, and the needs of Anglo-Indian life. For that purpose there are broad ideas to be taken from the classic buildings of Inigo Jones and Wren, but let us hasten to disclaim any desire for a servile representation of English classic buildings upon an Indian plain.” And in a previous issue (October 3, 1912) the same paper wrote as follows:—“The habit, *dear to ancient conquerors*, of building themselves new capitals to symbolise their power has taken hold again, for special reasons upon the modern world...Why should we, *the greatest of India's conquerors* who hold a very different sway, and mean to hold it for all time, be other than ourselves?” It appears, therefore, important that the case in support of the *European point of view* should be properly stated. We have in the above paragraphs given a very general view of the case for Europeanism in Indian architecture; but a more detailed exposition is necessary before it would be possible for us to weigh in an adequate measure the merits of the case. In the paragraphs that follow we have summarised the arguments that support the case for Europeanism, mostly in the language of an eminent architectural authority, Mr. Roger Smith, F.R.I.B.A., whose Paper read before the Royal Society of Arts on February 28, 1873** still represents, *for all practical purposes*, the realities of the actual situation. Though the Paper was read some forty years ago, still it would appear that the arguments in support of Europeanism.

* *Vide “European Architecture for India—A Note by H. H. Cole, Captain, R.E.”*

** Reproduced in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, March 7, 1873.

in Indian Architecture which have become current during the last few years are substantially those that were propounded in Mr. Roger Smith's Paper. "The arguments for and against the adoption of European styles in modern Indian buildings," observed Mr. Cecil L. Burns, Principal of the Government School of Art, Bombay, in the course of a Paper read before the Society of Arts, on May 27, 1909*, "were ably stated in a Paper read before the Society by Mr. T. R. Smith in 1873." We propose, therefore, to give a summary, almost in Mr. Smith's own words, of the European side of the question, and would also appeal to all concerned, both the Government and the Public, to consider what measure of weight should properly be attached to the arguments advanced,—in any dispassionate consideration of the question, with special reference to the problem of the Building of the New Capital.

The Indian side of the case, in one of the vital aspects, has been very ably summed up in the editorial of the (London) *Morning Post* for January 22, 1913, which we publish elsewhere, and we have deemed it proper that the case for the European point of view, which is the point of view of the majority of the European officials and European residents in this country—should be equally ably presented, and for this purpose also, we could not do better than summarise the arguments advanced by Mr. Roger Smith in the Paper to which we have referred.

III

And first of all, Mr. Smith seeks to refute one broad, general argument against Europeanism in Indian Architecture, namely, that there is no such thing as a national or *English*, or even a *European*, style of architecture. Mr. Roger Smith is prepared to admit that "at the present day it becomes dangerous to assert that we possess such a thing as a national style of architecture, and I for one, am not going to venture far, at least within these walls, into a vexed controversy on this point." And again we read, that "it is hard to say what an English architect of the time when we first began to build in India would have had to fall back upon as the national English style; and it is difficult to see, therefore, what art, meriting the name, ought to have been transplanted to India, had we from the first desired to establish there buildings of architectural pretension" (paras 21 and 19). But his case is as follows,—"On a broad and general view of the aspect of Europe we may at least admit that there is a recognised modern European architecture about which we may be tolerably certain; and while it is difficult, and perhaps unnecessary, to lay down the rule that our (architectural) work in India ought to be English, there could not, I should have thought, be much hesitation in admitting that it ought to be at least European—and in defining sufficiently for practical purposes what European architecture means" (para 21). And towards the conclusion of his Paper he makes himself more explicit by saying that "the style adopted ought to be, not a direct imitation of any Asiatic type, but an adaptation of those European styles which have grown up in sunshiny regions. Such styles are ancient Roman, or even

*Vide p. 632 of the *Journal of the Society of Arts*, June 18, 1909.

Greek (when good enough materials and workmanship are procurable), or the Romanesque, Gothic, and Renaissance of Southern Italy, Southern France, and perhaps Spain. In treating any of these styles, certain features of the architecture native to tropical countries will have to be incorporated. But they must not be so freely used as to cause the edifice to lose its European style" (paras 56 and 57).

IV

That is the answer to the question which he puts to himself in his Paper,— "What sort of architecture ought we to employ in India?" And he gives as his "principal and sufficient answer" to all pleas urged in favour of a more adequate consideration of the Indian point of view,—that Hindu or Mahomedan architecture is "not European, far less British" (para 23); and he goes on to support his point of view by the statement that the European treatment of buildings in India is the only "natural course," meaning by the last-mentioned phrase, a course laid down by conquerors in the past. Says he: "It may, I think, be fairly advanced, that in no country where there were buildings of which we have remains, has there been a great political and social crisis such as an invasion, without a perceptible record being left on the architecture of the period immediately subsequent to the event. In Great Britain, for example we have a sudden leap taken by the architectural works of the whole island at the time of the Norman Conquest, and the close similarity of our eleventh-century churches to those of the north of France would lead an observant man to guess that such an event as the Norman Conquest had taken place, even though he had never heard of it. The series of Edwardian Castles in Wales is another familiar example of the same thing; but perhaps the most remarkable illustration of what I mean are found in the traces of Roman invasion which are exhibited in Rome herself and in every corner of Europe" (para 3). And then he goes on to argue, on the basis of the Roman parallel, thus,— "We ought like the Romans to take our national style with us. The custom of the Romans, in occupying comparatively barbarous countries, was to transport their architecture with very small variation, if any, to the new spot. In the stubbornness with which we retain our nationality we resemble the Romans. They unquestionably not only cut their roads and pitched their camps in Roman fashion, but *put up Roman buildings, wherever they had occasion to build*; and the remaining fragments of those buildings testify that the Roman Governor of a province in Gaul or Britain continued to be as intensely Roman in his exile as the English Collector remains British to the backbone in the heart of India" (paragraphs 20, 16 and 23). This view, propounded by Mr. Roger Smith in 1873, that the only "natural course" is for the conquering nation to carry into the conquered country its style of architecture, and the arguments based upon the Roman parallel, have not grown obsolete with the lapse of time. Thus, only eight years ago, in the course of a discussion on a Paper on *European Architecture in India* read by Mr. James Ransome, F.R.I.B.A., the first Consulting Architect to the Government of India, before a Meeting of the Royal Institute of British Architects (23rd

January, 1905), Mr. E. W. Hudson, A.R.I.B.A., "referring to the point as to the desirability of adopting the style of architecture indigenous to the country, asked whether as conquerors of India, they were leaving upon the soil of that country the impress of their occupation, so that in generations to come, when the buildings there were probably in ruins, there would be the same evidence of British occupation as there was now in our country of the Roman rule"*

V

A similar sentiment finds expression in the following extracts from a Letter to the (London) *Times* (Oct. 3, 1912) from the pen of Mr. Herbert Baker, a distinguished English architect of South African fame who, along with Mr. Edwin Lutyens, F.R.I.B.A., is one the two *principal* Architects who have been appointed (January, 1913) in connection with the building of the New Delhi:— "Our admiration for the old civilisation can surely be best demonstrated by leaving the buildings of the Old Delhi alone...Should we not be guided by a *cruder and more natural instinct*, if we fearlessly put the stamp of British sovereignty on the monument of the great work of which the Empire should be so proud? By so doing we should be following the precedent of the Greeks, the Romans and of the Saracens themselves, when later in their history they had put their own impression on the arts which they had first absorbed." In the above extract, the argument of the "*cruder and more natural instinct*" which should "*fearlessly put the stamp of British sovereignty*" upon the New Delhi is, as will be seen, but a polite paraphrase of Mr. Roger Smith's argument of the "*natural course*" which is appropriate to a conquering nation. It will be seen also from the above extract that Mr. Baker not only pursues the argument based on the Roman parallel, based, that is to say, on the example of the "*typical conqueror of the ancient world*," but seeks further to draw upon another parallel, the Greek, which, however, does not seem to us to be quite convincing. In support we would desire to quote from a Letter entitled "The New Delhi," in the (London) *Daily News and Leader* of December 30, 1912, from the pen of Mr. Henry Holiday, a distinguished living English artist, who had been to India in 1871 and who then took occasion, we are quoting from the Letter, "to sketch the native architecture of India, and was deeply impressed not merely with its intrinsic beauty, but with the way in which it appeared to be at home in its surroundings and to belong to the place." The example of the Greeks as conquerors affording guidance to the English conquerors of India in solving the New Delhi Problem does not seem to Mr. Holiday to support the conquerors' claims. Thus, in the course of his Letter he observes:—"It so happens that Greece has given us a perfect example of how to act in such a case. Under Alexander the Great, Greece took possession of Egypt and placed her own rulers there; but throughout the Ptolemaic rule the Egyptian style of architecture reigned undisturbed, and

* Vide p. 203 of *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, Third Series, vol. XII, 1904-05.



to this wise action we owe the existence of the noble temples at Edfu, Philae, Kom Ombo, Denderah, etc. The style of the Ptolemaic period differed much from that of the earlier and later Theban work, but this was due to natural native growth, not to any foreign interference. Rome followed the good example of Greece ; neither of these great Powers, *when they found a noble art native to the country*, were guilty of the vandalism of trying to destroy it. We are now exactly in the same position in relation to India. We find there a magnificent native architecture, individual and unique. At home we have unhappily nothing of the kind, and suffer from the miserable battle of styles. We have to decide whether a new building is to be in some obsolete native style of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, or if it is to be Doric, Ionic Corinthian, Venetian or Renaissance, and so we have them all going at once, and clashing with each other, harmonising with nothing, and wholly devoid of impressiveness. There is no such difficulty in India ; they have a noble indigenous architecture of their own. I believe that we are evolving out of the past chaos something that may be called *our own*, while ill-advised officials have been striving to suppress the fine Indian traditions, but now we have a supreme opportunity. We are beginning to appreciate the great beauty of Indian art, Indian literature, and Indian ideals, and when we have a splendid occasion for giving a great impetus to Indian architecture, shall we cover the new site with British Museums, Royal Exchanges, Euston Stations and other nondescript erections *having no connection whatever with the country, the people, or their surroundings ?*"

VI

Apparently the sentiment seems to be exceedingly powerful among a very large section of the English people here, although the same might not always be obtruded into public prominence, that the "only natural course" for "the conquering nation is to carry into the conquered country its style of architecture." As an additional illustration of this thesis we find that Mr. Heathcote Statham, F.R.I.B.A., long the editor of *The Builder* (London), writes in the February, 1913 issue of the *Fortnightly Review* on the subject of the *Architecture of the New Delhi* and bases a strong appeal for a European treatment of the New Delhi architecture on arguments enunciated forty years ago by Mr. Smith—viz., (1) the "natural course" argument appropriate to a conquering nation, and (2) the Roman parallel. Mr. Statham's contention is that—"a conquering nation erecting buildings for its own use on a foreign soil, brings its own architecture with it, builds as it has been accustomed to build at home. It is in the NATURAL COURSE of things that it should be so. Some of those who do not perceive that *racial and architectural instinct go together* are raising a cry for a Moorish front to our Duomo, in other words, that we should do what no other conquering nation ever did, viz., adopt or adapt the architectural style of the Indian subjects, or one section of them....We in India are very much in the position of the Romans in the countries which they conquered and annexed ; and what their practice was, we know well enough. Wherever the Roman eagles went,

there arose the Roman columnar temple and the Roman triumphal arch—alike at Nimes, at Timgad, or at Baalbec." And the conclusion to which all this points is thus stated by the same writer:—"The conclusion therefore would be, if there are important Government buildings to be erected at Delhi, build at Delhi *as you would build in London*, only—with due regard to the difference of climate. There is where the real opportunity comes in for something new in architectural design and detail." The distinguished editor of *The Builder*, however, proposes to stretch the 'natural course' argument of the conqueror to further lengths than is even plausible. For, in the issue of *The Builder* for September 27, 1912 we read: "Indian Rajas vie with one another in building houses based on English models. *If we are to retain sovereignty in India, this attitude is one to be encouraged.*" (The italics are not in the original). The only appropriate comment on this is that to make the suppression of national character in a dependent country a deliberate part of the policy of Empire, by reducing its architecture to a reflection of the conqueror's ideals, would be perhaps undermining the basis of that Empire itself.

Another English journal devoted to the discussion of architectural problems, *The Architects and Builders' Journal*, refers to the Roman parallel and to the 'natural course' argument, in the following somewhat guarded terms:—"It is rather a curious question for discussion whether a conquering nation should take its own architectural style into its new possession, or adopt the indigenous style for the buildings erected under its rule. The Romans, who may be considered as the typical conquerors of history, adopted the former principle and carried their own columnar style wherever they went. There were occasional examples of modifications of detail from local influence, but in general, a Roman triumphal arch for example, was essentially the same in design and style wherever it was erected. On first becoming possessors of India, we followed the same course not consciously or on principle, but because it was the *natural thing to do.*" *

VII

*The Mahomedan conquerors of India did not, however, exactly follow the Roman example in matters architectural, and Mr. Roger Smith therefore seeks to differentiate the case of the English from that of the Mahomedans in the following way. The Mahomedans, though invaders of India, observes Mr. Smith, "did not pursue precisely the same course as the Romans, the principal reason being that they settled among people of a high, and to some extent, a kindred civilisation. When these people came to occupy large portions of India, they found existing an architecture, and a power of decorative carving,

* The above appeared in *The Architects and Builders' Journal* for 1910 in the course of a review of *Collection of Building Designs* (issued by the Government of India in 1909) under the advice of Mr. James Ransome, F.R.I.B.A., the first Consulting Architect to the Government of India; and of the first two Annual Reports (1907-8 and 1908-9) on *Architectural Work in India* drawn up by Mr. John Begg, F.R.I.B.A., the second and present Consulting Architect to the Government of India.

which were very far from contemptible, and they proceeded to incorporate many features of this national art with their own; and the very remarkable and beautiful buildings which resulted may be taken as an example of that which, *under the circumstances of invasion and permanent occupation*, not without proselytism, a highly developed artistic instinct was led to do" (para 16). The Mahomedans in India after the invasion became "colonists" or "semi-colonists." But, observes Mr. Roger Smith, "in occupying India we have not become colonists; we have remained conquerors. We have not sought to divest ourselves of our national habits, or manners, dress, or laws, even when convenience would have been consulted by so doing. The broadcloth of the civilian, and the gold lace and epaulettes of the soldier, are eminently unsuited to tropical climates, where the natives, when they dress at all, wear cotton or cambric. But it is because they are intimately associated with Englishmen, as such, that custom has decreed the retention of these things. We administer justice, not tyranny, in India; and yet, probably, a high-handed rule like that of an Oriental monarch would suit the difficulties of our case and the temper of the native mind better than our fair but foreign methods of dealing with government and laws. Even our language is imposed by us on the courts of law, and European fashions, notions, and principles are stubbornly kept up in many cases, in which, if convenience alone were consulted, an entire change would be made. Now, why should our architecture be an exception to this rule? We go to India, Europeans with pale faces, a strange tongue, and unfamiliar customs; and our position as the foreign governing race, and as a race which does not settle in the country, and intermarry with the natives, but which has its home far away over the seas and retains all its personal relations with that home, makes such a course of conduct reasonable—in fact, inevitable. Let us, then, for consistency's sake, be European in our art; for art, if it be true, is an expression of national individuality more intense and more truthful than custom, fashion, or government" (para 22).

Mr. Smith, however, admits that "it is not always the conquering nation which imposes its architecture on the conquered." Thus, "the arts of Greece were so infinitely superior to those of Rome, that when Greece was subdued, Roman art received its first great impulse, and took its first great lesson. Not so, however, in the case of nations inferior in civilisation to the Roman. Among them we can trace the footprints of the conquerors to the present hour" (para 14). And so Mr. Smith argues, that "as our administration exhibits European justice, order, law, energy and honour—and that in no hesitating or feeble way—so our buildings ought to hold up a high standard of European art. They ought to be European both as a rallying point for ourselves, and as raising a distinctive symbol of our presence to be beheld with respect and even with admiration by the natives of the country *" (para 57). "Had we,"

* The same sentiment finds expression, although in somewhat guarded form, in the following passages taken from an article entitled *The Architect in India* by Mr. John Begg, F.R.I.B.A., the present Consulting Architect to the Government of

declares Mr. Smith, "a distinctive *English* style, we ought unquestionably to use it in our colonies, as Rome did in hers, with such changes as local circumstances made necessary. But though this is, unhappily, not possible to us, there are in existence familiar European" (archaeological) "styles well suited to the purpose" (para 57). Mr. Smith, however, is prepared to concede so far that "if it had turned out that no architecture to which we are accustomed in England, or, at least, no architecture which we should see in England without any sense of its being strange, could be employed in a tropical climate, the case would be a very difficult one to deal with" (para 21); but it is not so.

VIII

Mr. Roger Smith is quite alive to the great difficulties of executing under Indian conditions designs based upon features of European (archaeological) styles. Thus, we read—"The difficulties of getting the work done are far in excess of what are found in this country (England); and in the case of buildings the designs of which come from men unfamiliar with India, they must often be aggravated, and the prospect of a successful result endangered, by the fact that large portions of the designs will be in danger of being omitted altogether or radically altered, as it will be found difficult, and believed to be impossible, to carry them out at all in the materials and with the appliances to hand, while to write home for new details will involve a delay of six or eight weeks at least, the result being that designs which depend for their effect upon being carried out completely are in danger of being mutilated and so spoiled, by the substitution of some feature more within reach, for parts which it is decided to omit" (para 53). And again, to the same or similar effect, "the scarcity in India of all the appliances and aids which can be ensured in England gives rise to another difficulty, by rendering many features impossible, or at least extremely expensive, which are of constant occurrence here (in England); and the architect must consider at every step that his building will be put up where manual labour is the only auxiliary that is plentiful. The resource of sending home to England for iron-work, brass-work terre-cotta, glass, and even carved stone, has been tried again and again, but there is great difficulty in obtaining exactly what is wanted; and probably in every case the less this sort of assistance is relied upon the better, for the

India, which appeared in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for July, 1911: "Official design and building work still bears, and must bear for yet a long time, a ratio to the aggregate of work in the country in enormous excess of what it does, say, in England. This is so not only by virtue of its actual bulk, but because it leads the way, and will, I hope, continue to do so till a respectable tradition has grown up sufficiently to render our leadership no longer a necessity. That won't be, I fear, in our day, nor in the day of the next generation of fellow-workers, nor, perhaps, of the next again. It won't be till India has so advanced that we are able to relinquish our leadership in other professions too—in law, in medicine, in engineering—and pretty much in the order in which I have named them, architecture coming last of all."

risks of transit as well as other sources of disappointment largely interfere with its efficiency" (para 52). Mr. Roger Smith also refers to another difficulty which is not perhaps less important than the difficulty of execution,—he refers to the difficulty of designing to suit the Indian climate. Says he:—"The great difficulty in designing and contriving is, of course, to a large extent to cope satisfactorily with the heat and the glare, and to provide adequate protection against the monsoon" (para 52). All these difficulties—those of executing and of designing according to European principles, but so, as to suit the climate he proposes to get over by entrusting Indian architectural work to educated and artistic European architects trained along European lines, but "who know also something of the country (India)—chiefly to men resident in it" (para 54), —foreshadowing in this respect the more recent and rapid growth of resident, imported, Western-trained, official architects in India who are to be found distributed among the various provinces of India. To the argument that "Indian architecture, whether Mahomedan or Hindu, is the offspring of the climate, and as such better fitted than anything we can import, to the circumstances of the country," Mr. Roger Smith replies as follows:—"Very true, but so is Indian food, Indian dress, Indian living, Indian administration. They are all the offspring of the climate, yet we cling and very naturally cling to the food, the dress, the manners, and the principles of governing to which we are accustomed; and although, we retain them in principle, we are not unwilling to make such variations in detail as will tend to diminish some of the inconvenience experienced in consequence of the peculiarity of the climate, country, and *entourage*" (para 24).

IX

Mr. Roger Smith's whole ideal of the scheme of Indian architecture under British *egis* is summed up by the statement that "the *leading features* of the style of the conquering race have to be retained; but at the same time its details have to be modified to suit the materials, the designers and the workmen obtainable, and the circumstances of the climate or country" (para 18); and further, "that we shall be likely to succeed best if we are not too anxious to incorporate much of the art or style of the country with our own" (para 20). For, it is a very hard "intellectual and artistic feat when a European is asked to take such information as the labours of Mr. Fergusson have placed at our disposal and such photographs and casts as have come to this country, and to make the attempt to imbue his Western mind with Oriental feeling as well as learning, and is told to work out under those conditions a building for European occupation which shall not be European. For the best architect is, in his taste, his sympathies, and his style, the exponent of the feelings of his race, his time, his school. True art is a very national affair, tinged most strongly by the national peculiarities of the time, place and the people among whom the artist learns his art, and gets his inspiration, and though you may obtain a cold, formal, lifeless design, with horse-shoe arches, and surface-carving, and may carry it out, you will not easily get buildings possessing real merit in this way. To master a foreign style of architecture so as to work in it respectably has

hitherto not been accomplished by the unaided exertions of one or two minds, but by the concurrent power of many" (para 25). Therefore, according to Mr. Roger Smith, once more,—“the right thing in designing and executing our buildings in India is that they should be *English*, if possible ; or if not, at any rate European in their aspect and general design, with such modifications as the climate, the materials, the power and training of the workmen and the local circumstances render necessary” (para 27). The utmost concession to the claims of the indigenous architecture which Mr. Roger Smith is prepared to grant would be as follows :—“In the execution (of Indian buildings designed by European architects in a European style), a large amount of effect will probably in time be obtained by enlisting the skill of native artificers in *decorative work*, such as carving and pierced stonework ; and in treating their subsidiary parts, a man of genius will often succeed in designing enrichments such as will be not inconsistent with his style, and yet not so strange to the native craftsman as to cramp him in his work and deprive it of that freedom of head and eye which the best decoration demands. Indian interiors might easily be rich with carving and bright with colour-decoration. There is an infinite amount of scope open here to the decorative artist” (para. 54).

Erratum—In the above article, on p. 63, footnote, first line, for *Lord Napier of Magdala who is still living*, read *the present Lord Napier of Magdala*.

CLAIMS OF INDIAN CRAFTSMANSHIP FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

I

In the course of a Lecture on “Modern Native Indian Architecture” with lantern slide illustrations delivered under the presidency of the Earl of Plymouth, on January 27, 1913, in The Little Theatre, London, Mr. E. B. Havell made the following observations :—

“*In this question the interests of Great Britain and India were absolutely identical. The craftsmanship of India was a part of our Imperial assets which only the most short-sighted spendthrift political economist would throw to waste.* The building of the new Delhi was, therefore, not a problem of style, but a problem of using Indian craftsmanship to the best possible advantage *for the good of the whole Empire*. He was quite willing to admit the force of the argument that this was an occasion on which the Paramount Power should manifest its supremacy through its art, but it was cynical selfishness or utter foolishness to say that on that account they must ignore the living

art of India. The highest authority in the land had given to India a Message of hope, of sympathy, of goodwill. Surely, then, it was the bounden duty of British architects to join with Indian builders in making the new Delhi an enduring monument of these generous sentiments, in using art as a natural ground upon which East and West might reconcile their differences, instead of continuing to entrench themselves behind the walls of prejudice, seclusion, and mutual distrust. Architecture might be a profession, a business, an amusement, or a fashion, but it could never be a living art unless it was deep-rooted in the soil in which it grew. There was evidence¹ that

1. *Vide* Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, new Edition (1910), vol. I, Introduction, pp. 5-6; also vol. II, p. 163; also vol. II, pp. 184-185; corresponding to pp. 5-6, p. 469, p. 475 respectively of the 1899 edition (John Murray) of the same work: The first edition was published in 1876.

In illustration of his lecture at The Little Theatre, "several types of Indian buildings were thrown on the screen; a palace from Gujarat built in the sixteenth century as an example of classical building; a seventeenth century palace from Datra, and the back and front of an eighteenth century palace at Bharatpur. To illustrate the architecture of the last fifty years were shown street scenes in Jaipur, Bikaner, and especially in Lashkar near Gwalior [—From a Letter dated January 21, 1913 from the London Correspondent of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta, published in its issue of February 21, 1913.]

Similarly, we find the following expression of opinion in a joint Letter from Mr. T. W. Rhys Davids, the President, Mr. W. Rothenstein, the Chairman of the Executive Committee, and Mr. A. H. Fox-Strangways, the Honorary Secretary, of the *India Society* of London, which appeared on 17th December, 1912 in *The Times*:—"Whether Indians are capable of such work or not would depend, we imagine, largely on the extent to which they understood and sympathized with the practical requirements. Where these conditions have obtained, Indians have raised within recent times many domestic buildings (as at Muttra and in Orissa), a railway station (at Alwar), palaces (along the ghats at Benares and other sacred places), and Royal palaces (as now at Bikanir). There is no need, therefore, to suppose that their architectural ideas are bounded by mosques and tombs. Few would doubt their ability to build a practical and imposing Durbar Hall." This, it will be seen, is intended to be a refutation of the popular Anglo-Indian view, echoed by Lord Curzon in his Letter to *The Times* (7th October, 1912),—that the Mogul style is only "well adapted to a mosque or a tomb with its courts and gardens, or even to the *purdah* life of an Indian potentate."

See also an important article by Colonel T. H. Hendley, C. I. E., on "Progress in Architecture" which appeared in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* for January 1912, (No. 117), published from London, under the patronage of the Government of India, by Messrs. W. Griggs & Sons, Ltd., Hanover Street, Peckham, London, S. E. Colonel Hendley is a distinguished expert

India long ago could build for herself *without European supervision* as well as Europe built in the Middle Ages, and that India long ago possessed a great school of living craft such as Europe had not known for many centuries; with all those vital qualities which enabled a great tradition of living craftsmanship to adapt itself to the needs of the time in which it lived. If the Government of India would at last make up its mind to establish a consistent and rational architectural

authority whose interest in, and services to, Indian art and architecture are well-known ; he was the Chairman of the Indian Committee of the Festival of Empire, Imperial Exhibition at London, 1911. We take the following extracts from the aforesaid article, as bearing specially on the question we are discussing :— “The collection of pictures and photographs in the Indian Court afforded ample opportunity of comparing the masterpieces of Indian architecture with the buildings which have been erected during the last century under the British Rule. The latter have usually been of purely utilitarian character, and are not always marked by their beauty, whatever may be said as to their fitness for the uses to which they have been put. The subject is, therefore, only referred to here in order that expression may be given to a hope that, in the construction of the new imperial capital at Delhi, some encouragement may be afforded to Indian architects and craftsmen by allowing them to assist in making the great scheme a success.

“It has been asserted that there are at the present time no great Indian architects, and that Indian architecture is a dead art ; but many examples have been brought forward in the *Journal of Indian Art* during the past twenty-eight years, which confirm the opinions of those who know India well that *there are master-builders still living, who, backed by an army of some of the best craftsmen in the world, are capable of great things, and, at all events, of proving that Indian Architecture can be made once more a vigorous, living art.* Financial and other adequate reasons, the chief of which doubtless has been the need of rapid erection of public buildings, have prevented the construction of great architectural structures, but examples are not wanting to prove that, when circumstances have been favourable, the Indian master-workers and craftsmen have shown, not only that they have much technical skill, but considerable initiative power. This has, perhaps, been more marked in the Native States, though not infrequently it has been evidenced under the control of officers in the Indian Public Works Department.

“This city (New Delhi), while well suited to the modern conditions such as sanitation, adaptation to official requirements, and the like, should not be out of harmony with local surroundings and Oriental traditions. It should, however, be specially and most emphatically a permanent mark of British Rule •...The general planning of the new Delhi and the control will no doubt devolve upon engineers, architects and administrators of the widest experience, but there seems no reason why under proper supervision and in compliance with

policy in India, there is no reason why the Indian master-builder should not be given opportunities for maintaining under British Rule those great traditions which his forefathers created in the service of former rulers of India." (Vide the London *Daily News and Leader* for January 28, 1913.)

II

Similarly, also, the claims of the Indian architectural art from the point of view of the Empire, were brought out and pressed on the attention of the Home Government by Mr. Joseph King, M. P. in the House of Commons (December 20, 1912). Thus,—“There was the great question whether Indian craftsmen and artists were to have their chance. If any desire to know what Indian art and architecture could do, let them go to South Kensington² in the holidays and see what beautiful work was being done in perfect tradition with the best old times of India. The notion seemed, however, to be,—to set up in Delhi, buildings which might as well be set up in New York, or Rio Janeiro. No national expression would be given to the great nation of India. But that would be really a slight of the *national art, architecture, and craftsmen in our Great Empire*. After all, we are governing India as trustees for the Indians, not on our own account, *but because we believed we had a great Imperial Mission*. The bill would have to be

well-considered general regulations, designs for public buildings as well as for shops and private residences should not be invited from Indian master-craftsmen and artists.

Read also the following extract from an article on *Agra and Delhi* by Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, which appeared last December in the *Times of India Illustrated Weekly*—“As we gaze in admiring awe upon these marvellous creations, it is impossible to help wondering whether the new capital of India will be as noble a monument of British Rule as Agra and Delhi are of the Empire of the Moguls. Shall we create a city as worthy of our name, embodying the aspirations of the twentieth century as completely as Agra embodied those of the seventeenth? Or, shall we create a jumble of pseudo-Classical and pseudo-Gothic monstrosities such as we see in the other cities we have occupied in India? The descendants of the craftsmen who executed the inlaid work of the Taj Mahal still exist, ruined indeed by the modern craze for suburban villas in cheap stucco, but ready, if a fitting opportunity is given, to reassert their traditional skill. *It is our duty to employ them, as Lord Curzon employed them in his work of restoration.* It is our duty, too, to set an example in taste to modern India and to check the senseless imitation of ugly, useless, foreign models. A nation's art reflects its soul; by the new Delhi the sincerity of England's work in India will be judged.”

2. See footnotes 1, 3 and 7.

paid by the Indians, and he wanted Indians to have a chance of working out the craftsmanship and the splendid genius they possessed. If Honourable Members would take the trouble to look into the current number of the "Sphere," they would see a magnificent set of illustrations of modern Indian works of architecture³—buildings erected recently throughout the Indian Empire. He ventured to say that for beauty, skill, craftsmanship, and magnificence of designing, totally alien as they were to Western Art and totally inappropriate as they would be for buildings to be erected in London, these buildings could not be surpassed throughout the world. He felt deeply on this subject, not only as a man who loved Art, but as a man who loved the British Empire. Was it fair that Indians who had great genius, a great history, and a great tradition should be asked to pay out of their revenue in order that some architects—excellent men no doubt, and gifted and accomplished artists too,—might have the opportunity of erecting in the new Delhi palaces of Italian art?"

III

Similarly, we find that Mr. T. W. Rhys Davids, Mr. W. Rothenstein, and Mr. A. H. Fox-Strangways, respectively President, Chairman of Committee, and Hon. Secretary, of the India Society of London, writing to the (London) *Times* (17th December 1912), made the following observations:—

"We have said that we wish to emphasize the claim of the art of a country to be supported and encouraged by its Government. We do so not only from the point view of the ruled, *but also from that of the rulers*. Of art it has been observed that those who know most about the thing least often use the word. But at least this may be said, that scope for artistic expression is as necessary to some people as free play for scientific ingenuity is to others. To day the West displays its energies in Science; the East still tries to express its happiness in Art. To measure, therefore, the real loss of India of having its art ignored, we must imagine what we should feel if our own rulers discouraged all scientific aspiration. We have given India a good deal of happiness as we understand it; it remains to give them happiness in the way they can feel it best. Moreover, the prejudice is breaking down by which Eastern art was held a few decades ago to be barbaric or merely curious; and we begin to see that it says, if we would let it, things which it deeply imports us to know. When, then, as at Delhi, it is possible to contribute to the happiness of a large section of the community and to vitalize a mode

3. See footnotes 1, 2 and 7.

of expression whose force we ourselves are beginning to feel, should we not think twice before we turn away?"

IV

The claims of Indian Craftsmanship from the point of view of the British Empire forms the subject of a short article by Mr. Joseph King, M. P., in the pages of the *Vineyard*⁴ (of London) for February, 1913. That article concludes with the following significant utterance—"That Empire and Craftsmanship are not poles asunder but closely and intimately connected, is the fact which ought to decide one of the questions now before the Secretary of State for India." We have great pleasure in reproducing below almost the whole of this very notable contribution on the subject, and would sincerely thank Mr. King for the ability and persistency with which he has been advocating the claims of the indigenous Architectural Art of India as against the inroads of Europeanism.

(A)

"What has Empire to do with Craftsmanship? *Empire* means that great body of Government and mass of influences and sentiment which give a political cohesion, more or less strong, to peoples of different languages, religions, states of culture and traditions. *Craftsmanship* is the personal power and activity of the worker to use a skilled eye and trained hand in the daily avocation of his life. What possible connection can there be between them? The great changes in the Indian Empire which were announced by King George V. at the Delhi Durbar on 12th December, 1911, bring the two, *Empire* and *Craftsmanship*, very close together. It is intended to move the Government capital of India from Calcutta to the ancient Indian capital, Delhi. When the announcement was first made and discussed, it was assumed that the new city would be an Indian city, that is, Indian in architecture and as far as possible a continuance of the great traditions of building and style, with such changes and adaptations as might naturally be required to make the new Government House and public offices convenient, sanitary, and suitable. This view was sealed with the highest authority when the Governor-General on the 25th March, 1912, stated in Council his strong desire that the buildings should be in Indian style.⁵ Everyone understood that this was the generous and considered judgment of the Emperor of India himself.

4. Published by A. C. Fifield, 13 Clifford's Inn, London, E.C.

5. See the next following article, "The Government of India and the Architecture of the New Delhi."

"But it is not only from reasons of State policy and justice, that is, because it is the Indian not the British capital which is to be set up, and because the Indian people pay, that Indian architecture should be considered for building the new Delhi. There is also this fact, that India possesses a native style and native craftsmen with unbroken traditions. Reasons social, economic, and political have broken the continuous line of craftsmen in England⁶; the workmen-artists, who carved the figures in the west front of Wells Cathedral and the angels in the choir spandrels at Lincoln, have left no inheritors of their tradition and skill. Modern Gothic is often learned, beautiful and finely designed; it is not spontaneous and natural as mediæval Gothic in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. But things are otherwise in India. The unbroken traditions of the East mean that the Indian worker is an artist, in a direct line of succession reaching back for centuries, and he inherits his predecessor's skilled eyes and trained hands.

"Anyone who will spend an hour at the Indian Section of the South Kensington Museum, may see doorways, windows, balconies, grilles, columns, and even whole facades of Indian buildings, some ancient, others modern, but with the recent and contemporary examples presenting no break from the old traditions of past centuries.⁷ So complete is the tradition that work of yesterday might have been done three centuries ago, and still older work seems to flow into the art craftsmanship of to-day.

6. See also the observations of the (London) *Morning Post* reprinted, pp. 58-59 *ante*.

7. Read the following extract from the Official Handbook (pp. 54 and 9) of the United Provinces Exhibition, Allahabad, 1910-11, held under the patronage, and with the active co-operation, of the United Provinces Government: "It is a matter of congratulation that architecture still remains a living art in India. The Exhibition buildings, so far as cost permitted, have been designed to illustrate the point. All the more important Exhibition buildings are in the true Indian style of architecture, combining the best features of Hindu and Muhammadan art: and with the white domes and pinnacles nestling among green trees they make a very picturesque group. They are coloured throughout in pale stone picked out in white which lights up well without being too glaring in the sun. The point, however, is far more abundantly proved by the example of carved stone pillars and canopies and pierced screens from Muttra, Agra (worthy of special note is the small pillar from Fatehpur-Sikri), Kota, Bharatpur, Jodhpur, and the fine exhibits of stone-work from Gwalior and Bikanir. The Exhibition may serve to demonstrate that given the will and the means, it would be still possible to have a living architecture and purely Indian decoration adapted to modern requirements."

See also footnotes 2 and 3; and para 2, p. 80; also *Dawn* for August, 1912, p. 165; also E. B. Havell's official Monograph on "Stone Carving in Bengal"

"Anyone who went through the Indian Bazaar at "the White City" in London⁷ the year before last must have noticed workers

published by the Government of Bengal, 1906 (Bengal at that time including Bihar and Orissa); also "A Plea for Indian Architecture" by Mr. O. C. Gangoly in the *Modern Review* for March, 1912.

8. On the occasion of the Coronation of our King-Emperor in England, a practical demonstration of the inherited skill of India's hereditary artisans was given before large bodies of Englishmen in connection with the Indian Section of the Imperial Exhibition (or The *Festival of the Empire*, as it was called) held in the Crystal Palace, London, June 1911. A very graphic and highly appreciative pen-picture of these Indian craftsmen at work at the Exhibition, by Mr. James Douglas appeared in the columns of *The Morning Leader* (now incorporated with the *Daily News* of London). The following extracts from the article would help to show the impression which our Indian artisans were able to make upon the English visitors to the Indian Section of the Exhibition :—

"The Indian craftsman at work in the White City are fascinating creatures. It is hard to imagine that strange silent beings are sitting on their heels in London, and not in a bazaar in Lucknow, or Agra, or Delhi, or Bombay. They are utterly isolated and separated from the life around them. They have not yet caught the air of exhibited beings. Their pose is an alien one. They are as they were a few weeks ago in their native city or village. It is we who are out of place and incongruous, for they have brought the spirit of India with them, and for the moment it resists the pressure of the new raw environment. Their garments make us furtively ashamed of our ugly and tight clothes. Their self-contained grace makes us blush at our awkward and clumsy movements. Their gentle harmony of physical calm arouses in us a doubt with regard to our superiority. Try as we may, we cannot feel that we are nobler products of a higher culture. They compel us to question the beauty and dignity of Western aims and ideals. They look like aristocrats who have strayed into a coarse and heavy society of vulgarians. It is a very preposterous thing, but beyond doubt these men and women make us feel vulgar. We are their rulers, their masters, their lords and gods, but they make us feel like serfs and slaves. It is only an illusion, but it is a very powerful one And yet he is only a cheap, common, ordinary, working man—even cheaper, commoner, more ordinary than our cheapest, commonest and most ordinary. Why does our civilisation fail to breed masses of men like him? Is the fault in our food, or our beer, or our schools, or our bricks? Or is it a secret of the soul? Certainly this men's attitude to life is in some undecipherable fashion different from ours. As you study him, you divine a queer composure, a strange balance, a surprising symmetry in his personality. He looks a harmonious being with a settled imperturbable fixity of mood Here, again, you feel that you are gazing at a craft that was old before Clive and Warren Hastings were born. There are three hundred millions of these calmly unprogressive creatures in

in wood, métal, stone, and textiles, who were artist craftsmen, working out ever new variants of old methods and motives, adapting and inventing yet observing the limits and rules of their native arts. *To use men who can work on these lines in wood and stone is to encourage and honour the best qualities of the people.* To ignore them by building in the Italian Renaissance or Palladian style—for such is the alternative finding favour in certain official circles—is to work out in a London office, from drawings or photographs taken in Rome, Paris, or Vienna, designs for facades, pillars, doors, windows, and courses, which might be constructed and set up just as well in New York, Buenos Ayres, London, or Berlin. Under such a method, even if Indian carvers and masons are employed at all, they will be copying slavishly a structure and decoration which is alien to them, when they might be encouraged to work out their native genius.

"Delhi is a city, with a great past and great buildings; and where the new Delhi will join on to the existing Delhi, there, unquestionably, the new buildings should be Indian in style. There are, of course, various Indian styles: the Mogul taste, fantastic and ostentatious, would not be adapted in Delhi so readily as the architecture of the Earlier Mohammedan periods, which, embodying Hindu traditions, is restrained yet flexible, and gives opportunities for capable Indian craftsmen to show their artistic powers.

India. The marvels of machinery do not appear to thrill their breasts. They are content to be what they are and what their ancestors were. The thought is staggering. A horrid suspicion rears its head. Is it possible that machinery has not altered the nature of man? Are these child-like craftsmen abysmally inferior to our chain-makers, and potters, and cotton operatives?" [—*For the whole of Mr. Douglas' article, see DAWN for March 1912, Part II, pp. 11-12*]]

The reader will here note that in the United Provinces Exhibition held at Allahabad, 1910-11 (1st December 1910—28th February 1911) under official patronage and supervision, a demonstration similar to that which was held a few months after at the Imperial Exhibition of London, was given of Indian artisans at work. The Allahabad demonstration, however, was on a far extended scale. The craftsmen were drawn from all parts of the Province and were all workers selected for their special skill at their respective trades. They were accommodated in one hundred and ten stalls forming three sides of a large quadrangle at the very entrance of the Exhibition. "The stalls," says the Official Handbook, "were occupied by working artisans, each working at his trade in the same way as his ancestors had worked at it for generations past," and were a sort of "compendium of all the industries indigenous to the country, and with few exceptions, indigenous to the United Provinces."

"These various styles persist in living to-day. They are capable of giving great variety, and in the great city which the new Delhi will be they may stand in friendly rivalry giving the charm of contrast. They are readily adapted to the life and work of the Western officials who will largely inhabit and use them. They are the growth of ages of civilisation which is still the civilisation of the Indian Empire.

"The Government of India is carried on by leading British intellects, yet worked through trained and trusted natives. A similar method can be followed in the building of new Delhi. A competent British architect should be chosen, say for Government House, which as the official residence of the Viceroy will dominate the new city; he should lay out the design and control the whole; with him should be associated Indian architects, who, under sympathetic and intelligent guidance, would have a chance of working in Indian architectural forms, and would be simultaneously instructed in a knowledge of structural, sanitary, and economic methods, such as Western architects have come to understand these things. Moreover, Indian architects working thus under leading Englishmen would act as channels of sympathy between the ruling minds of the British and the craftsmen, the best representatives of a nation's workers."

(B)

"But not even so are all the aspects of the question exhausted. Empire and craftsmanship can be associated in easing two of the greatest problems of India—the native Princes whose sovereignty is exercised under British protectorate, and the British officials, whose devotion to the public service is marked by a perfect aloofness from the life of the refined and superior Indians. The native Princes are constantly building palaces, public offices, schools, museums; are they to be induced by the example of the new Delhi to build in native style or on new exotic models? If the Government House at Delhi is Renaissance or Classical, then the native Princes will follow suit in that style. If an Indian style is adopted they will copy that. Nor will it stop there. Palaces and buildings like London and Paris will require furniture from Tottenham Court Road or the Champs Élysées. Furniture of Spanish mahogany or Austrian oak will be preferred to the work of the Indian cabinet-maker. Hangings and coverings, doubtless very fine, from the power-looms of Roubaix or Halifax will outset the work of the hand-looms of the Indian bazaar. The industrialism of the West will be encouraged to overcome the craftsmanship of the East; and the Indian workmen will have to pay for their own obliteration. The

standard that will be set up is of immense importance. Let it be a national, not an anti-national one. Let the British residents in the Native States be encouraged by the example of the new Delhi to foster Indian art, and Indian sentiment, and to develop the possibilities of the Indian people, not to superimpose a totally foreign veneer of exotic culture on the people whom they advise and whose affairs they administer.

(C)

"Then, again, there is the admitted fact that our officials in India, military and civil, have practically no life, public, social, or private, in common with those Indian families who are their equal in culture, refinement, and wealth. The reasons for this are that the Anglo-Indian is in India for a few years to work hard and then to return to England with a pension and no further connection with India, that there is no attempt made to overcome the racial, religious, and other differences between the Western and the Oriental, and that the whole basis, surroundings and aims of life of the two classes differ too widely to allow of a mutual approach. Everything possible therefore should be done to break down this alienation of official from native. The tacit admission that the art of India was not unworthy of European admiration would be a lasting admonition to mutual approach, if Indian architecture were adopted for Government building in Delhi,

"That Empire and Craftsmanship are not poles asunder, but closely and vitally connected, is the fact which ought to decide one of the questions now before the Secretary of State for India."

Errata:—In Part I of the February, 1913 number, on p. 42, line 27, read—*by the Persian* for—*of the Persian*; and on p. 44, line 36 read सजातोयग्नहाणा for सयजातीयग्नहाणा



THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE NEW DELHI

Since the gracious and memorable Declaration by our august King-Emperor, on the occasion of the laying of the foundation-stone of the New Capital (15th December, 1911) by Imperial hands, that "it is My desire that the planning and designing of the public buildings to be erected will be considered with the greatest deliberation and care, so that the new creation may be in every way worthy of this ancient and beautiful city,"—there have been a series of pronouncements made by the highest authorities which go to show that the Government of India have been seriously considering to what extent they should be prepared to forward the claims of an Indian treatment of architecture in the building of the New Capital. It appears that the Government while most anxious to consider in a spirit of justice and sympathy the claims of native India in the matter are yet confronted with a threefold problem of great difficulty and delicacy: (1) to gratify Anglo-Indian prejudice which would regard the adoption or adaptation of *archeological* styles of architecture of *European origin* as an expression either of the Britisher's racial superiority, or of the spirit of the conqueror; (2) to conciliate Anglo-Indian sentiment which affects to find in the adoption or adaptation of *such* styles the *only* real hope for the building of a capital which, to quote the language of some representative exponents of British opinion, shall reflect "in form and character the aim and spirit of British rule,"—which shall be "especially and most emphatically a permanent mark of British rule, character and influence," or,—which shall be "as faithful an embodiment of the spirit of the British Raj as our architects can desire": and lastly, (3) to produce edifices which should be living works of art (not mere antiquarian curiosities), while fulfilling at the same time all modern utilitarian requirements. These last, it will be noted, would not easily lend themselves to much artistic treatment except at the hands of true artists, and would accordingly and ordinarily be better left to the care and control of mere engineers. The difficulties of the Government of India under the circumstances mentioned above are not to be minimised, but to Indians it is a matter of the highest inspiration that His Imperial Majesty has not ceased to take a personal and deep interest in the question; and that His Excellency, Lord Hardinge, is also equally interested in creating a capital which should draw towards itself the love and sympathy and affection of the vast Indian populations.

That the Government of India has been slowly feeling their way towards a fuller appreciation of the many-sidedness of the problem is

evidence of the deep and earnest care which they are bestowing upon the subject. Since February 1912, when Sir Robert Carlyle, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., on behalf of the Government of India, in reply to a question by the Hon'ble Sir G. M. Chitnavis K.C.I.E., C.I.E., made their first official pronouncement* on the subject of the new Delhi architecture, the problem has been discussed with some vehemence both here and in England, and the Government have, it appears, been taking special note of the various points of view which have appealed to the various exponents of public opinion; and it appears also that the series of official statements which we give below represent a gradual growth of ideas on the subject in the Government of India itself. We are satisfied that the Government would not willingly close their ears to a further discussion of the subject; but it appears that the Indian point of view requires to be pressed home, not, indeed, by a mere repetition of old arguments, but by bringing out further phases of the question, and especially that aspect of it which would relate itself to the primary factor in the case, the factor of *art in architecture*. With these preliminary observations we would place before the reader the following series of official pronouncements made since February, 1912 on the Building of the New Delhi.

i. At a Meeting of the Viceroy's Legislative Council held at Calcutta on 26th February, 1912, a question was put by Sir G. M. Chitnavis, K.C.I.E., C.I.E., as to the intention or otherwise of the Government "to employ Indian architects and carvers of the old school on any constructive or decorative work which may be undertaken at Delhi, or to patronise and encourage as far as practicable the revival of Indian art in the Public Works Department:" The Government of India's reply given by Sir Robert Carlyle, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., the responsible Member in charge of the Department, was as follows:—

"Government have every desire to encourage the revival of Indian art in the Public Works Department and elsewhere and will take every opportunity of doing so with a due regard to economy in the expenditure of public funds. Government have no doubt that work will be found on the new buildings at Delhi and the capital of the new province for a considerable number of Indian carvers and workers in the decorative arts, but the extent to which these will be employed will largely depend upon the nature of the designs for the buildings—a question which has not yet been considered. The architects to be employed on the design of the buildings will be selected solely with regard to their qualifications for the important work and for dealing with the numerous complex problems connected with the design and construction of buildings adapted to suit modern requirements."

* On 26th February, 1912, at a Meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held in Calcutta.

2. At a Meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, March 25th, 1912, held for the last time in the Council Chamber, Government House, Calcutta, His Excellency, Lord Hardinge, made the following statement :—

"The creation of this new city (Delhi) is a matter in which I am taking, and shall continue to take, a very keen personal interest, and I have been in correspondence with Lord Crewe to send here as soon as possible the best sanitary engineer, town-planner, architect and landscape-gardener that he can find to draw up plans for the new city. When acceptable plans have been prepared, the moment will arrive to call in architects to provide suitable designs and estimates for new Government buildings, and this will require very careful selection and supervision. **My own personal inclination is towards an Oriental style of architecture**, which shall be in unison with local surroundings and with climatic conditions."

[Read in this connection the following observations of Mr. Joseph King, M.P. in his article on *Empire and Craftsmanship* in the (London) *Vineyard*, February, 1913, reproduced elsewhere in this number of the *Dawn*: "The Governor-General on the 25th March, 1912 stated in Council his strong desire that the buildings should be in Indian style. Everyone understood that this was the generous and considered judgment of the Emperor himself.]

3. At a Meeting of the Viceroy's Legislative Council held at Simla on September 18th, 1912, His Excellency spoke as follows :—

"My attention has been drawn to articles in the Press on the subject of the architecture of the new city. **You are aware of my own personal predilection in this matter.** Lord Crewe has recently stated his own views on this question in the following quotation that I take from *The Times* :—'The great cities of India were very various in position and possibility. Bombay with its fine harbour suffered as a city from being built on lines like New York, and was thereby cramped as regarded extension. Madras, on the other hand, was a garden city in the fullest sense. It covered a vast extent for the number of its population, and as one drove through its leafy groves it was often hard to make out where the houses were. Calcutta was in some part more on the lines of European cities. But at Delhi they had a different problem to confront. They knew what the historical associations of Delhi were. To be convenient and suited to the Europeans who had to work there, it could not be planned in a manner altogether foreign to Western ideas and Western life; yet at the same time, it must not be hostile in appearance or in spirit to the ideals of the past. Therefore, when the actual architecture of the new city had to be considered, it would be clearly no easy task for the architects engaged upon it to combine the old and new in a manner which was necessary if a truly satisfactory result was to be achieved.' These were Lord Crewe's own words, and I may add that nothing has so far been settled."

4. On January 30, 1913, Mr. Harold Baker, Acting Under-Secretary of State for India, in the course of a Speech in the House of Commons, made the following announcement :—

"Early in January, the Secretary of State received a telegram from the Viceroy in which he suggested that Mr. Lutyens and Mr. Baker should be appointed. The receipt of the telegram was of very great importance, because the Viceroy's judgment in this question was entitled to, and must carry, very great weight indeed with the Home Government.....In a matter like this the opinion of the Viceroy should be consulted. The Viceroy from the very beginning had taken a very great interest in the new capital. It had largely been left to his judgment who shall be employed, and what shall be the style of architecture. In a Speech which the Viceroy made on March 25 last, he expressed himself very strongly in favour of the Indian style of architecture. The scope of the appointment which had been given to Mr. Lutyens and Mr. Baker was strictly limited. They had been asked simply and solely to act as architects for

Government House and *one other important building*.* They would be the architects of these two buildings, and would be generally prepared to advise on the rest of the buildings for the new city. But with regard to all other buildings, except these specific two which had been mentioned, it was the present intention of the Secretary of State so far as possible, to allow competition to come in."

5. The above statement made by Mr. Harold Baker in the House of Commons had been preceded by an official *communiqué* issued to the London Press about the appointment of the Government architects for the New Delhi. We read in the London *Times* for January 29th, 1913, under the heading—*Appointment of Architects*—“The Government of India have decided to entrust the preparation of designs for Government House and *another important building* in the new Imperial Capital at Delhi to Mr. Edwin Lutyens and Mr. Herbert Baker, the eminent South African architect. They will be associated for the purpose on equal terms. It is also contemplated that they should assist the Indian Government in the selection of designs for other public buildings at Delhi and act generally as its principal architectural advisers as regards the new Capital. To ensure that the designs are adapted to climatic conditions, Indian sentiment, and official requirements, and to furnish advice as to Indian materials, and the employment where possible of Indian craftsmen, it is proposed to give Messrs. Lutyens and Baker the assistance of Sir Swinton Jacob, K.C.I.E., who has recently retired from active work as engineer and architect to several important Native States of Rajputana.” [The heavy types are not in the original.]

[Read in this connection the following observations made on December 20, 1912, in the House of Commons, by Mr. Harold Baker, Acting Under-Secretary of State for India, in the course of a discussion on the subject of the new Delhi architecture:—“Nothing at all has yet been decided” (on the question of style). “What the Secretary of State has decided, and in that the Viceroy is in full agreement with him, is that the fullest possible scope shall be given to Indian artists and to Indian craftsmen to work upon the new city, and to beautify it, while giving vent to Indian aspirations and Indian ideas.”]

This “another important building”, according to *The Times*, is the Secretariat building. In the course of a short article (January 29, 1913) commenting on the appointment of the Committee of Architects, it writes.—“Mr. Edwin Lutyens and Mr. Herbert Baker are to be associated on equal terms in preparing designs for Government House and ‘another important building’—the Secretariat, we presume. They are also to assist the Indian Government in selecting the designs for other public buildings, and they are to act as its principal architectural advisers on all questions relating to the new Capital. The association with them of Sir Swinton Jacob as adviser on Indian conditions, materials, and crafts is also an excellent arrangement. Sir Swinton Jacob is an architect of many beautiful buildings in Rajputana in the Indo-Saracenic style, and he will bring to the service of his two principals a life-long knowledge of Indian methods and skill. Mr. Lutyens and Mr. Baker are certain to desire to make the utmost of Indian models in working out their ideas, though those ideas will not, we are sure, be hampered by any servile regard for previous styles in India or elsewhere.” This, we are gratified to note, is a distinct improvement upon Lord Curzon’s idea, expressed in his Lordship’s Letter to *The Times* (7th October, 1912), of merely “giving an Indian flavour, a native *aura* to the forms of the West.”

* “*One other important building*” :—The Secretariat building, according to the London *Times* (January 29, 1913).

6. At a Meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held at Delhi on February 17, 1913, the Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., replying to the Hon'ble Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi Bahadur *re* the question of the New Delhi architecture made the following statement: "No decision with regard to the architecture of the New Delhi has yet been arrived at. The Government is, therefore, not in a position to make a statement on the subject." On March 5, 1913 the Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., in answer to a question put by the Hon'ble Sir G. M. Chitnavis, K.C.I.E., C.I.E. made the following statement:—"The Government of India have not framed definite terms of reference to the Committee of Architects. Mr. Lutyens and Mr. Baker, with the assistance of Sir Swinton Jacob, an architect of much experience in the design and construction of buildings in this country, will submit designs for two buildings of importance, and will advise the Government of India on the designs of all other new buildings and on any other matters regarding the new Capital that may be referred to them. The question of the style of the architecture of the new city has formed the subject of considerable discussion both in England and in India in the course of which various opinions have been expressed. The best available advice will be taken in regard to all architectural questions and all local conditions affecting them will be fully considered before any final decision is arrived at."

In this connection the reader will be interested to know in what high estimation the architectural achievements of Sir Swinton Jacob, K.C.I.E., C.V.O., M.R.I.B.S., are held by our present Viceroy. In a Speech at Indore on the occasion of His Excellency's visit to the Daly College, November 8, 1912, Lord Hardinge referred to Sir Swinton Jacob as "that unrivalled master of Indian architecture." Thus:—"I note that it was Lord Dufferin who opened the first building of the Daly College in 1885. It is a matter of personal satisfaction to me to follow in his footsteps, and the buildings which it is my very great pleasure to declare open are worthy of the noble purpose for which they are intended. They have been designed by Sir Swinton Jacob, *that unrivalled master of Indian architecture*, to whom so many parts of India are indebted for beautiful and practical edifices." Similarly, at Jaipur, November 20, 1912, in reply to a Speech from His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur, His Excellency referred to the "great work" of Sir Swinton Jacob. "The Albert Hall and the well-known School of Arts make it clear that architecture and arts and crafts received your Highness's encouragement, which alone made it possible for Sir Swinton Jacob to carry on his great work." Similarly, on the occasion (3rd August, 1912) of the opening of the Senate House of the Allahabad University which was designed by Sir Swinton Jacob, Sir John Hewett, then Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, in his capacity as Chancellor of the Allahabad University, thus referred to the architectural work of Sir Swinton:—"The architectural features of the building owe their inspiration to the genius of the architect, Sir Swinton Jacob, who has done so much towards adorning the province with beautiful buildings." (Vide the *Advocate* of Lucknow, August 8, 1912).

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The Dawn

and

Dawn Society's Magazine

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BY MAJOR J. B. KEITH (formerly of the Indian Archaeological Survey)

Parts II & III

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That which is ever-permanent in one mode of Being is the TRUTH.—Sankara

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PART I: INDIANA

THE INDIAN PROBLEM IN RELATION TO INDIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE—First Part

By MAJOR J. B. KEITH

FORMERLY OF THE INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY

I

In a country composed of so many different tribes, families and communities, I think the proper way to revive Indian Art is by giving a helping hand to village and local art industries, while making the co-operation of Native States something more than a name. Art industry in India cannot be expected to grow and flourish until the humble classes with whom it originated in the village organisations again become prosperous. A Provincial Art Conservator might give a helping hand to local art industries, without systematising or crystallising the base of South Kensington, and continue the publication of useful art monographs like John Griffith's Ellora and Ajanta Cave Paintings, while developing local museums and exhibitions. India's architectural remains, such as the Buddhist and Jain, are the outcome of self-containing communities who shared in the benefit of those free associations. The Hindu monuments of the Buddhist and Mediæval Periods, it must always be remembered, were for the most part the offspring of village and trading communities like the Jain, and not the outcome of royal munificence. Thus, the Teli Mandir of Gwalior erected by a community of oil-dealers belonging to the same fraternity was the outcome of community thirst with free labour, and for the benefit of the people. The whole genius of Hindu civilisation lay in decentralised institutions. I do not think that the Empire of Asoka,

B. C. 250, was any more than a name, seeing that in Ptolemy's time there were five Provinces and eighty kingdoms, while communication was difficult, and the Government was entirely one of decentralised Hindu States *in touch with village communities*. *The village community was the home and the birth-place of the industrial arts, and an institution which generated both trades and guilds.* The feature of Indian life has been 'village industries in the village community.' A centralised Government was unknown in Indian history until the time of the Mahomedans. Admirers of Moslem art sometime fail to recognise that its development is more or less a Hindu development as we see in the Hindusthani architecture of to-day. I admire the works of Akbar the Great, and Shah Jehan the Magnificent, notwithstanding that they starved the provinces and decoyed local craftsmen to the capital. The *Ain-i-Akbari* or The Institutes of Akbar did provide remuneration for skilled labour and its great author showed much personal solicitude, but there was much forced labour all the same, if not quite so bad as that which saw the erection of the Grecian Parthenon. And if we reverently do homage to the peerless Taj Mahal, we must not forget that it was due to imperial egoism and personal gratification. It was in a large measure by increased taxation, by oppression and corruption, by decoying Hindu craftsmen from the provinces, and by forced labour, that Mahomedan art was built. It was otherwise with the Hindu monuments of the Buddhist and the Mediæval periods. While the beauty of the Taj, like the glory of the Parthenon, is stained by slave labour, it is the proud boast of both Buddhist and Jain shrines that they were the outcome of free labour and free, self-supporting communities. Not the least pleasing association I have of the great Sanchi Stupa is the well-clothed, well-nurtured and happy faces that still look down upon us from that monument. You see the gardener watering his flowers, the maiden with the vanity and curiosity of her sex, examining with the aid of a hand-glass on her thumb her tresses. She may also be seen in another place bursting her cheeks with laughter at the recital of a lover's story. Hindu love for all sentient life as becomes a people who believe in transmigration is finely depicted on the Sanchi Sculptures. All that is simple and joyous in the kindly Hindu comes out in striking relief.

The system in India of late years has been nothing but bureaucratic centralisation. I wanted the Agra Municipality to do something for craftsmen, and called upon its Native President. He listened to my application and answered, "Yes, if the Sarkar (Government) is agreeable." In other words, I found that the Municipality had behind it the Provincial Government as a centralised screen !

II

(A)

The whole genius of Hindu Civilisation lay in decentralised institutions. Their arts and industries emanated from them and these we have neglected. The whole tendency of the Indian Government of recent years has been to centralise; whereas upon decentralisation depends to a great extent the resuscitation of the industrial arts, and the happiness of Indian craftsmen. When the departmental system is gradually relaxed, an immense advance will be made. I have already observed, the proper way to revive art industry is not so much through Delhi Exhibitions, as by giving a helping hand to village and local industries. At Gwalior I conceived the idea of reviving through the instrumentality of local museums and local exhibitions. I tried to unearth and rescue several art industries, but my connection with the country having somewhat abruptly come to an end, the plan was not carried out. The money I had collected for a museum to assist impoverished craftsmen by making it an agency and registry of their work was spent on purposes I had never intended. The initial exhibits I had prepared for the museum were retained at Calcutta, instead of Calcutta supplying itself with duplicates; and finally the stone-carving industry, the revival of which I had tried to embody in the "Gwalior Gateway", now lying at South Kensington, was relegated to obscurity. The Gwalior Gateway was an Oriental Gateway consisting of seventy-five tons of beautiful carved stone, the arch alone being an entire piece weighing eighty tons. I had exhibited it at the Calcutta International Exhibition of 1883-4 and my object was to promote Central Indian industry. I prepared and carved out the work in 1883 as an advertisement to the stone-carvers and indigenous art, but my desire to have the Gateway left in Calcutta, where Sir Rivers Thompson, the Lieutenant-Governor, promised me a site, was frustrated and I had great trouble to have it erected in South Kensington, where it is misplaced and does not serve the purpose of an advertisement.¹ At Gwalior, at the time, there were two thousand

1. Similarly, an Imperial Institute in England might have its advantages, if the original purpose for which donations had been obtained from Indian princes and peoples had been accomplished; but help to Indian art *in India* is what is required, and Indians might have subscribed to an institution which they could see, and not one which they could never visit! Even the "Journal of Indian Art," subsidised by Government, and without a vernacular copy, is in no way representative of the Indian workshop and its wants, nor does it reach either the Indian palace or the people. India has many naturally clever artists (craftsmen), full of latent talent, but I am not aware that any opportunity has been given to these men to develop their talent.—J. B. KEITH.

stone carvers, chiefly unemployed, the descendants of those who had built the famous temples and men who could work in a manner not unworthy of their forefathers. The effort was well received by the Australian delegates to the Exhibition²; and if it lacked favour in some quarters, the reason was not far to seek. It professed to inculcate for the first time in Calcutta the advisability of employing indigenous, as opposed to foreign, forms of architecture and of trusting more to native local talent, and less to English architects, contractors, etc. Those who wish to see what Indian carvers can do, may do so by inspecting the 'Gwalior Gateway'. Without any technical training an urchin, barely twelve years of age, will, by simple eye-sketching, trace out the most delicate arabesque, and this with rare fidelity, his only pencil being a rough piece of charcoal. After this he will carve it with the utmost delicacy and incisiveness. One great mistake we make in our relations with Indian art and industry is to treat India in the same way as we treat our own country or the colonies, where there was no indigenous art. The native is not a born administrator, but a little conventional training will make him an admirable architect, engineer, &c. It is certain that much of the work done by European agency could be very well carried out by Indians. A contention like this is sure to provoke opposition, but it is none the less true.

(B)

I have already spoken of the need for creating a Provincial Art Conservator who might give a helping hand to local art industries, while developing *local museums and exhibitions*. A few observations on what I think should be the scope of local museums may appro-

2. "In 1883--1884, an International Exhibition was held in Calcutta. It was the first undertaking of its kind in India. The idea of having an Exhibition in Calcutta of the products of the Indian Empire was under the consideration of Sir Rivers Thompson, when, in October, 1882 Mr. Jules Joubert, who had before successfully promoted International Exhibitions in Australia, arrived in India and suggested the wider project. The Exhibition was managed by an Executive Committee, acting in concert with Mr. Joubert. Three of the Australian Colonies, viz., Victoria, New South Wales, and South Australia, appointed Commissioners to promote the objects of the Exhibition; and official representatives were sent to the Exhibition by the Colonies of Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, Tasmania, British Guiana and Mauritius. From foreign countries delegates were sent by the Government of Austro-Hungary, by the French Colonies of Cochin China and Tonquin, and by the Dutch Colony of Batavia, and Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Turkey, Japan, and the United States of America were represented by exhibitors."—*Vide p. 799 of Mr. C. E. Buckland's Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors, vol. II., 2nd edition, Calcutta.*—EDITOR, DAWN.

priately be here given. Their establishment should be for the convenience of Indian craftsmen and the general public. What is most desiderated is advertisement and patronage. The art-collector is frequently interrogated—‘Where did you get this? Can you procure me the same?’ And this because the old Indian craftsman is too poor to advertise his wares. With the decline of Native Courts and the pre-nature introduction of Free Trade, times have pressed heavily upon him. It is hard that the more enterprising European should appropriate their designs and pawn upon the public, articles which poorly represent the lavish patience and industry of Indian craftsmen. I feel assured that local museums, in assisting the cause of advertisement and patronage, would render essential service. Let each local museum be a register house where the names of workmen, their addresses, specialities, and the prices of their work could be known. By this means purity of design would be secured and the public protected against exorbitant charges. If I am not mistaken, Sir Edward Buck of the Department of Agriculture and Revenue had suggested that continental museums should be supplied with duplicates of exhibits in the local museums. The museum should fulfil the duties of an agency where, if articles could not be purchased on the premises, all necessary information could be obtained with a view of procuring them. A show-room ought to be an integral portion of each museum in order that Europeans may be taught the extent to which Indian art and manufacture may be adapted—and cheaply—for the purposes of furnishing house decoration, etc. Next, the museum ought to be an educator of the people, and contain all the best samples in farm implements, produce, minerals, &c., the country can produce. Lastly, the museum ought to be a place of recreation for the poorer classes of India, all of whom delight in pleasure resorts. Advertisement secured, patronage will soon follow.

III

Thus, a great deal could be done through the medium of local exhibitions and museums, but the governing classes must also throw aside their insularism and isolation, *placing themselves more in accord with the sympathies of the people*. If the official class in their public and private capacities will only patronise Indian forms of art and manufacture, Rajas will follow suit, the masses will again become leavened with a taste for the beautiful which pervades their land, and a complete revival will follow. If all Collectors followed the excellent example set by my late lamented friend, Mr. F. S. Growse, C. I. E., of Bulandshahr, and Mr. Coldstream of Lahore, much good may be attained. Hitherto official example has been of a baneful kind, seeing

that they have encouraged all forms of *incongruous* architecture. Their want of example was demonstrated at the Calcutta International Exhibition of 1883-4 where barely a fraction of the official class, who constitute the aristocracy of the country, attended, and a still smaller fraction purchased exhibits. Most of the leading Rajahs were conspicuous by their absence. The Exhibition was in no sense a national one, nor did it fulfil its duties as an educator of the people. This was more to be regretted, seeing that it was very popular with Bengalees, male and female.³

Possibly, the failure of duty on the part of the official class is the outcome of a growing detachment between races, *which constitutes a real internal danger to the country*. This isolation is the product of an age which witnesses weekly steamers from England, telegrams, parcel posts and an annual exodus. The popularity of the old Anglo-Indian of a former day arose from his living among the people, spending more than a tithe of his income upon them, and largely sympathising with whatever gave them joy and pleasure. His wife shared his sympathies and his anxieties. All is now changed. All Indian subjects are now voted a bore at messes or clubs. To take an interest in the manners or customs of the people, or to venture a stray remark about archaeology, &c., is to expose oneself to a rejoinder after the fashion of Dr. Johnson, who declared that he did not wish to hear any more about the Second Punic War. Probably the most discouraging factor in the revival of Indian art and industry is the apathy of the Anglo-Indian community. In my Brochure of 1894 I pointed out the advisability of having a Capital where the Chief of the State would be more in touch with the heart of the Empire and with the great Feudatory Princes. I said that "one of the first steps towards promoting the resuscitation of art industry would be the transfer of the Viceroy's capital to a

3. "The Exhibition was opened by Lord Ripon, Viceroy and Governor-General, on the 4th December, 1883, and was closed by him on 10th March, 1884. The total number of persons admitted into the Exhibition exceeded a million. The number of visitors continued to increase before the closing of the Exhibition, and as its fame extended only gradually to distant places in the interior, it would certainly have attracted visitors for a much longer time if circumstances had permitted it to remain open. The beautiful collection of art work in the Indian Courts was probably the most vividly recollected by those who visited the Exhibition. The total number of exhibitors in all the Courts amounted to 2500; the exhibits exceeded 1,00,000 (one lakh) in number, and 3590 certificates of merit with medals were given. The total space enclosed for the Exhibition amounted to nearly twenty-two acres." —*Vide p. 800 of Mr. C. E. Buckland's Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governor*, vol. II., 2nd edition, Calcutta.—EDITOR, DAWN.

more centralised situation.⁴ A lead is necessary and if the Viceroy were in touch with the Feudatories and the opulence of the land, this desired end would be attained. His own palace ought to be externally and internally an epitome of the arts of the land, and every example ought

4. I have always thought Delhi had many superior attractions if we except those of a commercial nature, for in this respect Calcutta or Bombay is superior. But I must repeat that it was not an imperial capital until the days of the Mahomedan conquest, although a very important Northern city in Hindu times and a great Art centre. No Buddhist remains are to be found in either new or old Delhi, and the Musjid or converted Jain temple at old Delhi is explicable. Bearded and pious Mahomedans were ready to protect a power which the Brahmans in other parts of India had cruelly persecuted ! And why ? Because the Jains, as is well known, were the great bankers of India, and holding the purse-strings have enjoyed the friendship of all rulers who have borrowed money from them. Our own Pax Britannica was not loath to accept the assistance of the Mathura Seths (Jains) in the dark days of the Mutiny. An order from a Jain banker of Peshawar on Calcutta used to be like a letter credit from Coutts or Drummond. Colonel Tod describes the favour and esteem they enjoyed with the Princes of Rajputana, and the Delhi Moslems despite their horror of idolatry made use of the Jains. The presence in later Mahomedan days in Delhi of a very beautiful Jain temple, but little visited, is another testimony to tolerance conceded to the magic builders, albeit Jain.

From a military point of view, I think Delhi has more advantages than a Southern and coast town notwithstanding all the talk we hear about sea or naval power ! All men acquainted with India need not be reminded that with the exception of the new town of Bombay reclaimed from the sea, and Karachee, India has few defensible harbours. The Madras surf for a long time despaired one and the sea on the side has always been encroaching. The only Power likely to invade India in the future is the Colossus of the North (Russia) and our bellicose ally Japan, who in days gone by harassed the Chinese Court and who in recent time has annexed Korea and penetrated into Manchuria. We have no reason to fear the peaceful Chinese, devoted to agriculture like the Hindus, but we can understand how the United States is on her guard as to Japan. Both Russia and Japan, if so inclined, could descend from the North, so that a very large body of troops within easy reach of Delhi, seems desirable. An increased number of European regiments ought to be quartered on the Himalayas, and more ought to be made of the forces of Native Princes, with the military spirit, such as the Rajputs and Mahrattas, without causing friction to the central Government. Superior commissions ought to be given to Indian gentlemen.

I think that there are overwhelming reasons for erecting the projected buildings at Delhi in the ancient and oriental style of Oriental Architecture. I am not certain that I agree with the ex-Viceroy, Lord Curzon, as to the Jubilee Memorial to the good and great Queen Victoria. Her Royal Proclamation of 1858, if not read as Missionaries would interpret it, deserves like the noble columns of Asoka to be dispersed throughout India, for indeed it was a great charter ; and I think if the good Queen could be consulted, she would not be loath to have her memory commemorated in Native Art. I think that prosperity and monuments of justice are the items that will immortalise the British Raj with a distant posterity. I disagree with Lord Curzon both as to Imperialism and Centralisation, and the reason is the decentralising spirit of Hindu civilisation in the past. Nor can we get rid of the

to be afforded to the Native Chiefs." Every opportunity should be served for encouraging native artists, for reversing the rule which relegated craftsmen to the lowest grade, and for paving the way for the time when all true workmen, no matter whether architect, painter or carpenter, find their place among the nobility of the land. Art fabrics ought to find their true market in India itself, and in the improved tastes of Rajas and dispensers of patronage. It may be very desirable to seek European markets and aid from without, but unless a movement is started from within, the attempted revival would not be a success. On the part of Trades Unions, Birmingham designers, Manchester, and many other interested parties, there will be a determined opposition against any extensive introduction of Indian ornament and designs. And yet India deserves some compensation from the wholesale injustice done to her weavers and print-makers by the premature introduction of free-trade. The manufactures of Indian art fabrics should have protection like authors; copyright privileges ought to be secured. There should be no attempt to disturb the old channels of advertisement, which were "Melas" and "Mina Bazaars," and substitute in their place economic museums, &c.

It is of the first importance to conserve the architectonic expression of a country, where the art is purely traditional, and where the architectural record supplies the place of books. This ought to be done by throwing the responsibility on municipalities, to whom Provincial Governments ought to delegate funds. What is wanted is not a spasmodic and expensive outlay which often ends in waste, but an economical system of supervision and annual preservation. *Only such buildings as belong to a race, a class, or period, or are exceptionally interesting,* ought to be preserved. There ought to be an expert to assist municipalities, and to report to the Government of India that the duty is being carried out. In his Handbook of Archaeology, Mr. Westropp says:—"The architecture of a people is an important part of their

philosophic prediction of Charles Pearson of a renewal of the same spirit in the future, having regard to the influence of geography and physical laws generally, and, above all, hereditary and traditional associations. Unless I am very much mistaken, centralisation and imperialism in the future will be liable to have its wings cut, for geography and climate are great factors in demarcating Races, Nationalisms, and Religions. - J. B. KEITH.

Note by the Editor.—Mr. Charles H. Pearson in his remarkable book, "National Life and Character", published in 1894 by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., makes the prediction (p. 139) that "India, if it ever becomes independent of England, will split up into a cluster of States, federated it may be, but not capable of an aggressive foreign policy."

history. It is the external and enduring form of their public life ; it is the index of the state of their knowledge and social progress." The monuments themselves are in most cases the only faithful record we possess of the religion, manners, habits, and customs of the Indian people in archaic as well as mediæval times. *From an architectural point of view, the monuments are in the highest degree valuable and their value would become more apparent as indigenous forms take the place of such as are of exotic growth.* The extent to which monumental preservation may influence the domain of art industry will only be felt when people appreciate the wealth that lies at their feet. I should like to see every place of historical celebrity converted as much as possible into a pleasure resort. Beyond a general surveillance on the part of the Native custodian, I should recommend no other precautionary measure. Notice boards ought to be freely posted warning visitors against defacement, mutilation, &c., and parents ought to be held responsible for the good conduct of their children. The allotment of a small sum for a chowkidar, a mali, and a sweeper out of local funds will be a necessary arrangement in each place of interest. A short account of each monument in the vernacular might be drawn up and sold to Indian visitors, while guide-books and photographs ought to be available for the European public. A careful catalogue of all the detached sculptures ought to be prepared and frequently verified on the spot. It would be a work of supererogation on my part if I enlarged on the value of India's remains, her monuments or the lithic record; but it is necessary to add that the Hindus have bequeathed to us a living art in their architecture.

IV

(A)

I profess no architectural or technical training, but as a Monumental Conservator I may be credited with having picked up something, and have cherished for many years a deep sympathy with the Hindu Architect and Hindu Mason, who are worthy representatives of the great body of Hindu craftsmen, who form one of the chief numerical items of the population. On the threshold I would point out the glorious example of the Emperor Akbar, a name still to conjure with, and which ought to be conserved in every Indian workshop! He may be seen in the illuminated copy of the "Ain-i-Akbari", in company with the Native Architect and with the plan of a building in his hand, for he loved the noble Art of Architecture. It is not generally known that the native architect in the guild is a man of high intelligence, who has studied numbers, hydraulics and kindred sciences. The Guild-Architect, in addition to the traditional knowledge he has of a technique

in his own profession, is a fine freehand drawer, and an expert in many ways. When reviving a Guild of Stone Carvers in 1880 in Gwalior, I employed a number of boys in the preparation of the 'Gwalior Gateway', now at South Kensington. One of them, a lad of barely twelve years of age, and with nothing but a charcoal pencil, covered an architrave with beautiful arabesques, and such was the correctness of the drawing that it was not one-twentieth of an inch out. One great flaw of the Hindu Constitution was that the Architect never took a higher grade than an ordinary mechanic, whereas in Greece he ranked among the privileged in the land. The architect in India never rose beyond the grade of a mechanic or occupied a place in the social hierarchy like Phidias, the sculptor of the Grecian Parthenon. But he was a HIGHLY INSTRUCTED MECHANIC⁵, not unversed in professional book lore and the author of architectural works. It

5. In the well-known Essay on the "Architecture of the Hindus with forty-eight plates" by Ram Raz, "Native Judge and Magistrate at Bangalore, Corresponding Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland," and published by that Society, London, 1834, are mentioned the qualifications of a *Sthapati* or Architect according to the Hindu *Silpa Sastras*. The last-mentioned word, says Ram Raz, is "derived from *Silpa* or manual art, and *Sastras* or science, and though in its general signification comprehends the whole of the mechanical arts, is applied commonly, and perhaps by way of pre-eminence, to architecture." These *Silpa Sastras* were handbooks written for the guidance of architects, sculptors, and craftsmen generally, and it speaks volumes for the aesthetic comprehension of the framers of these ancient *Sastras* that in the treatment of their subject, they regarded Sculpture, Painting, and all the decorative arts in their organic relation to architecture, and their architecture in organic relation to the plan of the city.—Cf. the *Mānasāra*, one of the most comprehensive of the *Silpa Sāstras*, "the first chapter of which treats of the several measures used in architecture, sculpture, &c.", and "the second, of the qualifications of an architect," and four other chapters (the seventh, the ninth, the tenth and the thirty-fourth), of the subject of city-planning.—*Vide* Ram Raz's Essay, pp. 2-5. On page 15 of the same work we read:—"The word, *Sthapati*, signifies a person who presides over the erecting of an edifice, the formation of a statue, and the construction of a chariot, &c. The principal qualifications of a *Sthapati* consist in a knowledge of various branches of learning, such as arithmetic, geometry, drawing, sculpture, mythology, astrology, &c., the usefulness of all of which to a master-builder is too obvious to require any comment."

Ram Raz quotes also (pp. 14-15) from another *Silpa Sutra*, the "Manūshyālaya Chandrikā," a treatise on civil architecture—the following passages:—

"An architect (*sthapati*) should be conversant with all sciences; ever attentive to his avocations; of an unblemished character; generous, sincere, and devoid of enmity or jealousy."

"Of nearly equal qualifications with him should be the *sutragrahi* (measurer); he may be either the son or disciple of the *sthapati*; he should be particularly skilled in mathematics and be strictly obedient to the will of the *sthapati*."

"A *tacshaca* (carpenter), who is thus called from part of his avocation being to pare

is now the custom to laud all modern education, but Professor Flinders Petrie, the well-known Egyptologist, in deprecating this enthusiasm, did a good service, not many years ago, in reminding the public that the Guildsman was the person who erected the great Hall of Karnak in Egypt and the Temples of Luscor and Thebes. With regret be it the rough wood, should be of a cheerful temper, and well-versed in all mechanical arts."

"A *vardhaci* (joiner) is he who is dexterous in joining, and uniting other materials one with another; he should be of a calm disposition, and acquainted with drawing and perspective."

"As it is impossible to build houses and the like without the aid of the four descriptions of artisans, *sthapati* and so forth, let the enlightened twice-born gratify them in every respect, so that buildings may be erected."

"Woe to them who dwell in a house not built according to the proportions of symmetry. In building an edifice, therefore, let all its parts, from the basement to the roof, be duly considered."

In the above connection, the reader is invited to read certain extracts (given below) from an official publication, "Indian Art at Delhi, 1903, (pp. 124-125) by Sir George Watt, K.I., C.I.E.," and published by the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 8 Hastings Street, Calcutta. The extracts refer to a reproduction in wood made a few years ago of a portion of the Maharaja of Bhavnagar's Palace, the head carpenter having been instructed by His Highness to "follow most carefully the time-honoured rules and traditions of the craft":—"Turning now to the more Hindu style of wood-carving, seen in Gujarat, the charming reproduction of a portion of a palace, contributed by His Highness the Maharaja of Bhavnagar, may be accepted as fully characteristic of the purest and best work of former times. This will be found on the left-hand side of the Refreshment Room. Mr. Proctor Sims, the State Engineer of Bhavnagar, has given this reproduction his most careful attention and it may accordingly be accepted that, in constructive details, in ornamentation and in furnishing, it is an accurate and faithful reproduction of a portion of the Rajput Chief's palace in Kathiawar....Mr. Proctor Sims informs me that when the head carpenter of the State was told that His Highness had given orders that, in constructing this model house, he was to follow most carefully the time-honoured rules and traditions of his craft, he expressed the greatest pleasure since he regarded the modern departures (all too common) as degenerations. As the work progressed he observed that the finger of God was pointing the way and that accordingly mistakes were impossible. In support of this belief he quoted the *ancient rules of his craft* such as....." On this Sir George Watt comments as follows—"Is it to be wondered at that the Kathiawar House should be beautiful and dignified *when constructed under conditions and rules that have taken hundreds of years to evolve to their present perfection.*" Some of the ancient rules of his craft, mentioned by the Maharaja's head carpenter to the State Engineer are given as follows by Sir George Watt:—"The breadth of the room should be divided into twenty-four equal parts, of which fourteen in the middle and two at each end should be left blank, while the remaining two portions should each form windows or *jalis*. The space between the plinth and upper floor should be divided into nine parts, of which one should be taken up by the base of the pillar, six parts by the column, one by the capital, and one by the beam over it." (*Ibid.*, p. 125).

The reader is further referred to Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy's "Medieval

said that we have done nothing to improve this person's position in India, although his buildings in Bombay, Jeypore and Gwalior, will stand comparison with those of any European builder. A Public Works

Sinhalese Art" (1908), where he will find a chapter (pp. 64-69) on the traditional system of technical education imparted to Indian craftsmen-apprentices. We take the liberty of reproducing the following extracts from the same, as explanatory of the system under which the Hindu architect is trained : " As architects, painters and designers, a thorough knowledge of drawing was essential to the superior craftsmen, and we find a highly systematic course of instruction in use for the education of apprentices.... By this time the boy began to draw figure and animal subjects. The object of instructions was not to enable the pupil to copy a design before him, but to enable him (1) to reproduce from memory certain well-known designs and figure subjects, and (2) to make use of the traditional elements of design in the decoration of whatsoever varied forms and surfaces he might be called upon to decorate. Meanwhile, the apprentice learnt by heart the Sanskrit *Rūpārūpāya*, containing instructions for the drawing of images of gods and mythical animals ; *Sāriputra*, containing instructions for making images of Buddha ; and *Vijayantika*, a compendium of instruction in the arts, containing, for example, a detailed description of the sixty-four kinds of jewels proper for gods, kings and men ; the design and quantity of gold required for each ; measurements of swords, thrones, dagobas, etc. The pupil had by this time begun to use the brush, which he learnt to do by practising on unimportant work and by filling in details and completing work laid down by the master. If the master was engaged on the decoration of a vihāra there was no lack of minor work which could be executed by pupils while he himself was busy with the most important and difficult parts. The pupil, like the pupils of the painters of mediæval Europe, thus got his hand in, by completing the easier parts of real work in progress, instead of attempting too early to execute individual work of the most difficult sort, or principally working at uninteresting copies of no permanent value." The works referred to above are technical works on Silpa Sātras used in Ceylon. Dr. Coomaraswamy speaking of these Sastras says :—"The Silpa Sāstra forms a bulky literature, but usually very corrupt, and greatly neglected, alike by Indian and European scholars [The subject has been touched upon once or twice in the Journal of Indian Art and Industry ; see *Dravidian Architectural Details*, by A. Rea, in vol. v]. A knowledge of Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu, and of the art, is required for its adequate study and comprehension. Several of these books are to be found in the Tanjore Library, and in that of the Theosophical Society at Adyar. I venture to commend their investigation and the teaching of drawing, and of South India art and artists generally."

Babu Mano Mohan Ganguly, B.E., M.R.A.S., in an original work on "Orissa and Her Remains—Ancient and Mediæval" (District Puri), published by Messrs. Thacker-Spink & Co., 1912 refers to the use of the Silpa Sastra by the present day Uriya architects. Thus, on p. 229 we read—"This view of mine has been corroborated by the Uriya architects and artists of the present day. They cited from their Silpa Sātra to bear me out, and there is a definite plan or arrangement recommended for the relative positions of such figures in respect of the structure. I have recently seen an old palm-leaf manuscript of Silpa Sastra with several illustrations. I have not found time as yet to decipher it, but hope to do so very soon." *Vide* also p. 208.

graduate of Cooper's Hill, or even a Eurasian from the Roorkee College was brought up with the idea that he was in every way the superior of the Indian Indigene or Architect, a man educated in the traditional style of architecture and possessing books which treat of his art. Indeed, he has been encouraged to spurn all Public Works associated with Hindu Civilisation, whether associated with irrigation or with architecture. Government would have taken a right step if it had placed the erection of its Universities, Colleges, and Schools in the hands of competent Architectural Guilds, of which there are admirable ones in Mathura, Agra, Gwalior and other parts of India. Native art, to have life in it, must express the thoughts and feelings of the people. In this I would not exclude European agency altogether, for the art of the day must express the political condition of the country ; but I would not place the designing of Indian buildings entirely in the hands of European architects. This is an unfair distribution of patronage. Besides, *the work of European agency in the matter ought to be restricted to hints.* A great opportunity now offers for a salutary departure and reform in the projected new buildings at Delhi. Save an insane effort to press on Western ideas, I do not think much is to be gained by advocating a European Renaissance style for the New Delhi buildings ; and this to the neglect of a very old, an original and a still living art. In this matter one should like to see a Viceroy who has won golden opinions from the natives of India, give a sovereign example by making his Residence a repository of Native art and this would be an example to the Lieutenant-Governors, and to the Feudatory Princes of India who nursed Indian art in its infancy. A revival cannot be predicted in the presence of Western education which seems to destroy, when it ought to conserve, Indigenous Power instead of destroying it. On quitting India, the late Marquis of Dufferin in a graceful Address to the Chiefs of Rajputana expressed a fervent wish that India would

Mr. Ganguly's volume.

The need for a proper exploration of the *Silpa Sastra* literature was brought prominently to the notice of Western Orientalists at the Fifteenth International Congress of Literature held at Copenhagen in August, 1908 both by Dr. Coomaraswamy and by Mr. F. O. Oertel to whose enthusiastic interest in Indian art and archaeology is due the initiation of the recent excavations at the Buddhist site of Sarnath near Benares. In publishing Mr. Oertel's paper in the *Indian Antiquary* for October, 1908, Sir Richard Temple, the Editor, adds a prefatory note in which is stated that "the Congress formally adopted Mr. Oertel's suggestion that arrangements should be made to collect and translate all the *Silpa Sastras* dealing with architecture and sculpture that can be traced." For a further and lengthy discussion of the question, the interested reader is referred to two articles entitled "Interpretation of Indian Art in the Light of Indian Literary Records : A New Branch of Study," appearing in the April and May, 1912 issues of this Magazine—EDITOR, DAWN.

one day see a Renaissance comparable to that which took place in Italy in the 15th century, and this is the only way in which we use the word, renaissance, in this presentment. But how was that brought about? Not by trampling on an ancient literature as Macaulay attempted to do, but by a revival of all that was beautiful in the works of Greece and Rome.

Blame is thrown on the old Hindu Government for being a class-government, which is not strictly true, seeing as we have related elsewhere, that India owned a *natural* socialism, which in some points put Prince and Peasant on a level, and Buddhism organised social fetes for the poor. Hodge who breakfasts off a mandrake or the offal of a dust-bin, has no conception of what sort of fare the well-to-do classes in England are heir to; whereas every Indian peasant, agriculturist or artisan, knows that his fare is the same as that of the Prince. There exists among the people of India a natural socialism and interdependency—a fact paradoxical in face of the caste system—arising out of Hindus dressing in the same way, eating the same food, following the same customs, and living the same simple life in their houses, devoid of costly furniture. Our Government is much more of a class-government than that of the old Hindus. We have showered honours on Parsee merchants, on Bania, Contractors, Middlemen of all kinds, on Schoolmasters; but I fail to see the name of a single Native Architect, and yet these men have been engaged in erecting the stately buildings to be found in Jeypore, Gwalior and Bombay. A little extra education (in addition to his special training), and this, without resort to external colleges, technical institutes and art schools of design, and a little encouragement would make him a most useful servant of Government fitted to supply designs for Government schools, colleges, universities, hospitals and even railway stations. Instead of this, we have hitherto preferred a Eurasian graduate of Roorkee College as the recipient of our favour. A glance at the splendid buildings and works erected by simple craftsmen will demonstrate that technical instruction is to a great extent superfluous in India. Much ignorance prevails as to indigenous instruction. There never was a time when intelligent Indian craftsmen were in the position of our labouring classes.

(B)

We are among those who believe with Maxmüller that despite faults, the old India can give us some lessons, not excluding Architecture. How well its buildings have lasted, not like the unfortunate "Saugor, Barracks" which tumbled down! Their durability too is the more remarkable because their facing stones have not a particle of cement. To see a group of quarrymen extracting a large stone from its bed is

a sight and to see them getting it on its place with the aid of numbers and an inclined ramp is still more wonderful I may mention that I discovered near a quarry in Sanchi in 1883, the inclined ramp, on which the great stones were drawn up and adjusted in their place. The Hindus so far understood scientific engineering that they could put enormous beams on a building in a manner which has almost defied moderns to discover.⁶ A great deal of exaggerated praise

6. The subject of the hoisting of huge stone-blocks and iron beams in the great Orissan temples, and especially those at Konarak and Bhubaneswar, forms the theme of a very interesting discussion in the pages of Mr. Mano Mohan Ganguly's volume on "Orissa and Her Remains" (1912). We take the liberty of quoting at length from the work (pp. 150-152) :—

"It is a matter of great wonder that so very heavy stones and iron beams could have been raised to such a great height before the invention of steam engine, wire-rope, derrick or pulley block. Our imagination is fired in trying to discover the contrivances that the Hindu architects had recourse to in raising, lifting and fixing these heavy beams and blocks of stone. The huge stone figure of the lion meant for the Vimana at Konarak was raised to a height of about 100 ft., and was brought from a quarry at a distance of many miles from the actual site of work across forests, swamps and rivers with inadequate means of communication. It is still a problem for modern engineers to ascertain the devices employed by the ancient school of architects. They explain away the difficulty by assuming that the Orissan architects resorted to the contrivance of the inclined plane made of sand, as a statical machine, and that the blocks had to be dragged along the line of the greatest slope. Even if we should admit the possibility of an inclined plane, the question may still be asked, How could they manipulate such huge blocks at all? There is another difficulty in the assumption of the inclined plane; as the structure increases in height, the line of slope changes, and hence this contrivance of the inclined plane is to be adjusted at every step of progress by changing the base and the height of the plane, and the difficulty is all the more aggravated if the plane be made up of heaps of sand. A moment's reflection would convince us how absurd must be the supposition that the structures were covered with sand both inside and outside as they increased in height, and that the blocks of stone used to be dragged to the required height and position along inclined planes or ramps made of sand. The absence of sand in the locality of Bhubaneswar would be a damaging argument against the accepted hypothesis. Although we cannot exactly determine the contrivances or methods used by the Uriya architects, still it may safely be asserted that some sort of staging was used, over which the blocks of stone were hoisted by means of winches; and it is not unlikely that the Hindus were acquainted with the use of some sort of pulley, however crude it might have been in design. I must, however, say that I have gone through the Sukra Niti, Brihat Samhita, Agni Puranam, and many other treatises on Arts and Architecture very carefully, but nowhere have I come across any technical term for a pulley, or a winch, or a description thereof."

The following further extracts from Mr. Ganguly's work (p. 463) appear to be still more interesting :—"The eastern doorway (of the Jagamohan or Audience Chamber of the Konarak temple) had over it a Navagraha architrave supported

has been bestowed on European buildings, well-lighted and heated, and with many other luxuries. Modern enthusiasm raves over up-to-date European buildings, with electric light blinding the eyes of old Admirals and Generals, and central heating, causing dry throat. I have lived in the heated atmosphere of Public Works barracks in which one could neither breathe nor see, and have appreciated the cool temperature of a subterranean room in the Lahore Fort in the month of August when my comrades were being struck down above with heat apoplexy. A sanitary engineer or graduate of Cooper's Hill when he wanders into the ancient palace of a Rajah, utterly unacquainted with native habits, such as sleeping outside or on the roof, is seized with a fit of denunciation when he contemplates small rooms and other arrangements. Then a feeling of indignation becomes intensified when he looks to the up-to-date palaces fitted with all modern convenience. I am not speaking in condemnation of a Department, but some of its members who write in condemnation of Indian art, without studying its motive or its *raison d'être*, and in hope that it may be entirely superseded by Western ideas. I have also heard the lighting of Hindu buildings found fault with. A Philistine of a subordinate in the "Public Works" thought he might effect an improvement by supplying the Gwalior Palace with English panes of glass for windows, forgetting that the object of an Indian Architect in a warm country ought to be that of diminishing both the light and the heat. It was the practice of the Hindus full of the poetry of the East, to admit light into a palace or tomb through double corridors of beautiful perforated screen-work, and its effect at the mystic hour of sunset, with the light thrown in diminished quantities into a tomb, is one that no one of appreciation can forget. The Great Karli, or Buddhist

on two iron beams or lintels resting on two forward projections no longer existing. It was in its original position when visited by Drs. Rajendra Lala Mitra and Hunter. It was dislodged and cut into two parts in 1893 in order to reduce its weight for easy transit to Calcutta; one of the two parts is lying on the way from the dak-bungalow to the temple site, and the other containing the figures of the planets is lying at a distance of about a quarter of a mile from the temple. The idea of taking it to Calcutta had to be abandoned on account of insufficiency of allotment, heavy weight and difficulty of manipulation; and the piece was left behind to take care of itself. I am sorry to note that such things should happen in an age in which the art of mechanical invention has almost reached perfection; while, on the other hand, originally several centuries ago, when there was apparently hardly any efficient means of communication, the entire block weighing 26½ tons had to be conveyed from a quarry many scores of miles distant from the temple site. A thatched shed has been built over the portion of the architrave meant to be brought to Calcutta."

cave temple, on the Poona road has not only been described as a fine illustration of lighting from the ceiling, but the parent of "the dim religious light." subsequently introduced into the Byzantine church and the Gothic cathedral of Europe. The effect of introducing light from the ceiling was such that while it lighted up the Dagoba or shrine within the sanctuary, the remainder of the building was left in gloom.

(C)

Do not let me be misunderstood. I have no desire to defend Hindu architecture from some faults easily detected and I set out with assuming that it required improvement, but not on the lines of British Architects wholly unacquainted with the habits of the people governed by climate and heredity. I allow the Hindu construction to be faulty as seen in the insufficient support to the roof of the Sas Bahu Temple in Gwalior, and in several instances in the Hindu Palace architecture. Then, decoration being their *métier* and a disease with them, they too often sacrificed construction to ornament. But it is unfair to judge of Hindu architecture by European canons. *No fault could be found with the English Public Works had they confined themselves to improving the deficiencies of the Hindus, more especially in the matter of Roads and Bridges, and this ought to have been the polity of Western Civilisation in general.* We, moderns, with our conceit laugh at Antiquity and its Works, although a great deal of Progress is relative and sometimes adds no new principle. The future will honour the splendid bridges that pass over our estuaries; but many were astonished and discredited some few years since, when it was discovered that many centuries ago the Hindus were acquainted with the cantilever principle in bridge-construction which Sir John Fowler appropriated and so aptly developed on the celebrated bridge that spans the Firth of Forth. Sesostris' Egyptian canal, B.C. 600, might be a pigmy compared to the effort of M. Ferdinand de Lesseps or that about to be launched and called the "Panama", but the principle was there. But we rarely hear of the fine canals of the Mahomedans in Northern India (and their Irrigation Works in Spain were celebrated). Rarer still is it to hear of Hindu canals, although both the Punjab and Central India were honeycombed with them. One of these the writer discovered at Gwalior,⁷ a fortress of which it is recorded that it was never destitute of an abundant supply of good water. And more singular still, the pipes formed conduits on the identical plan of a Roman canal the writer came across at Cherchel in Algeria, in the spring of 1884.⁷ India's

7. The local annalist of Gwalior, Kharj Rai, had referred to this canal but many scouted its existence. The annalist story was that Rajah Man Sing, one of the most popular of Hindu sovereigns, introduced water into the Gwalior fortress in

Irrigation Works are a magnificent tribute to British zeal and enterprise and to Sir Arthur Cotton; but our knowledge of Indian Rivers and the deflections of the streams has been entirely acquired from the natives of the country. The agricultural experts who have visited India, including the Secretary to the Royal Agricultural Society, Mr. Voelcker, and Professor Robert Wallace of Edinburgh, have praised the well and irrigation works of the Hindus, so simple and inexpensive.⁸ But it is convenient for many to forget them and this on the principle which induced many to refer to the 'Waste lands' which our Irrigation had reclaimed! As a matter of fact, in *ancient India*, there was not a rood of land uncultivated and terrace cultivation was carried up to the very ridges of the Himalayas. It has been objected that the Hindus were indifferent engineers. Unaccustomed to use the true or pointed key arch which we find in bridges,—not that they did not know it as alleged—their bridges were poor; and yet, as has been pointed out, they knew the cantilever principle many centuries before Sir John Fowler appropriated it and embodied it on the Forth Bridge. The late Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra⁹ with whom the writer was acquainted most justly proved that the Hindus not only were acquainted with the 'True Arch' but avoided it owing to its tendency

the 15th century, and by means of a canal, and from a place called RAI, situated at some distance from Gwalior. It was the good fortune of the writer to confirm the truth of Kharj Rai's statement, and to re-discover the canal. More singular still, he found it made with cylindrical conduits, like a number of accentuated ginger-beer bottles joined together, and the complete duplicate of a Roman canal the writer found in Algeria, near Cherchel (ancient "Julius Cæsarea") in 1884.—J. B. KEITH.

8. All readers interested in agriculture would do well to read the very valuable criticisms of Professor Robert Wallace of Edinburgh University, in a work of his dedicated to Indian agriculture, and supplemented by some very forcible criticisms by Mr. Voelcker, another English expert. I am not a specialist, but believing that there is a good deal to be said for indigenous methods, whether for agriculture or horticulture, I heartily commend Professor Wallace's strictures. I can understand our efforts to improve agriculture frequently carried too far in the direction of high farming, but I cannot believe that Hindu civilisation knew nothing about farming or rather agriculture, seeing that the people had lived on the land for many thousand years, and are intimately acquainted with the soil, with the rotation of crops, while introducing some very valuable and economical methods in the matter of well irrigation. They worked with a plough well adapted to a light soil, whereas our attempt to use a heavy European plough proved abortive. Further, as might be expected, they were more conversant with the temperament of Indian horses and cattle and their ailments than ourselves.—J. B. KEITH.

9. The reference here is to Chapter III, pp. 101-113 of "Buddha-Gaya, the Hermitage of Sakyamuni," by Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E., published under orders of the Government of Bengal: Calcutta: Printed at the Bengal Secretariat Press, 1878.—EDITOR, DAWN

to thrust itself out on the haunches.¹⁰ Our old friend, 'Man Mandir,' in Gwalior had many examples of arches, and had the writer received any encouragement from the British authorities, or the Maharaja Scindia, he would have wished to say a good deal about the Arch. But why blame the Hindus, seeing that the Greeks adhered to the horizontal? Besides, our Hindu friends treated the Bracket Arch with such taste and with such enrichments that we may forgive them for not employing the form most generally used. If the Roads of the Public Works

10. The following extracts taken from Dr. James Fergusson's great work, "History of Indian and Eastern Architecture" (pp. 210-211, 1899 edition, John Murray) explain the position more fully:—

"Although we cannot assert with absolute certainty that the Buddhists never employed a true arch, this at least is certain—that no structural example has as yet been found in India, and that all the arched or circular forms found in the caves are without one single exception copies of wooden forms, and nowhere even simulate stone construction. With the Hindus and Jains the case is different; they use stone arches and stone domes which are not copied from wooden forms at all; but these are invariably horizontal arches, never formed or intended to be formed with radiating voussoirs.

"It has already been explained how prevalent these forms were in ancient Greece and Asia Minor, and how long they continued to be employed *even after the principles of the true arch were perfectly understood*. In India, however, the adherence to this form of construction is even more remarkable. As the Hindus quaintly express it, "an arch never sleeps"; and it is true that a true or radiating arch does contain in itself a *vis viva* which is always tending to thrust its haunches outwards, and goes far to ensure the ultimate destruction of every building where it is employed: *while the horizontal forms employed by the Hindus are in stable equilibrium, and, unless disturbed by violence, might remain so for ever.*

"There can be no doubt that the Hindus carried their horror of the arch to an excess, which frequently led them to worse faults on the other side. In city walls, for instance, where there is a superabundant abutment on either hand to counteract any thrust, the horizontal principle is entirely misplaced. What the Hindus feared was that if the wall were shattered, as we now find it in the City Gateway, Bijainagar, the arch would have fallen, though the horizontal layers still remain in their places."

Mr. Mano Mohan Ganguly B.E., M.R.A.S., in his "Orissa and Her Remains" (1912) explains at some length that the Orissan architects were not ignorant of the principles of the true arch, but preferred the horizontal form to the radiating one, for purposes of ensuring greater permanence and stability to their buildings. Thus, on pp. 108-109 we read:—"I do not think that the Uriya architects were ignorant of the principles of a radiating or true arch which is an assemblage of wedge-shaped voussoirs covering a space, and supported intermediately by their mutual pressure on each other caused by gravity, and ultimately their pressure against the abutment or pier. The pressure on the abutment which is inclined, necessitates the construction of the walls to a great width in order to keep the line of thrust within the central third of the base for ensuring the stability of the structure." Thus, the Uriya architects were wise in preferring the horizontal arch to the radiating one." Mr. Cole has detected this instinctive distrust, or rather horror cherished

Department in India cannot compare to that of the Romans, a practical race with whom the Britisher has often been compared, nor of those of the French in Algeria, their Bridges and Aqueducts, to say nothing of their Canals, will transmit the British name to a distant posterity. I think it would have been possible for the Public Works to have immortalised themselves still more, if their attitude had not been one of injustice to the Indian Hereditary Industry and Indigenous Power. I have always said that if we could unite the finer qualities of the Hindu and European we would have something very fine, but this will not be attained by a European Renaissance architecture in India under some specious pretext of polity which in reality both equity and polity condemn.

V

I have been anxious in these notes taken from my Portfolio to defend the claims of Indian Architecture and the just claims of the Indian Architect and Mason, for they are representative of the whole body of Indian craftsmen who in the presence of class ascendency have received but scant attention. But their claims are not to be put aside, so that warned by the Social War in Europe, it is to be hoped that we will take time by the forelock. These are not an ignorant body as not a few Europeans imagine, but many of them are quite the equal of their European brethren, who at this hour are provided with every species of representation. The Indian craftsmen are not men with the low ideals you find in some of the socialistic and atheistical workmen on the European continent. The Indian Government at great expense has lately been appointing factory inspectors who are to control the operations of Bombay sweepers, and see that "leather is sound and well-tanned, measures honest, flour unmixed with devil's dust." It strikes me that if we got back to the ideal of the mediæval guild which cultivated real art and established communities of workers, we might far better trust to their vigilance than to expensive European inspectors.

by the Hindus for the radiating arch, in the temple of **Hardeo Jee** at Govardhan. The following extract from his work, "Buildings in the Neighbourhood of Agra" will bear me out. "The eastern entrance to the *Mantapa* or porch is peculiarly characteristic of the horror which the Hindus had for the true arch."....."The sense of effecting permanency was so deep-rooted in the minds of the Uriya architects as to make them ignore the radiating arch altogether as an essential principle of construction. This sense led the Egyptians, according to Barry, to deliberately 'set it aside as a principle of construction.' There is another fact, in this connection, which is worth considering; the radiating arch is usually employed as a constructive element, where the building material does not admit of being used in large blocks; this depends upon the geological formation of the country, and the skill of the architect in manipulating huge blocks. Professor Fletcher has laid stress on this point in his 'Influence of Material on Architecture.'"—EDITOR, DAWN.

A venal police will not stop bribery or corruption ; and whatever good may result from factory inspection on the part of Government, nothing outside a proper organisation of Labour, on a community or guild basis, where the individuals forming the community have a proper watch on each other, will prevent abuses. The work of the old *Kharkhana* again was a labour of love ; the soul of the craftsmen was in their art, and their reward was the toil itself. What will either the State or the public gain by seeking to divorce this principle from Indian work and substituting in its stead the scamping of the modern European factory? Are the principles of popular education and agnosticism an improvement on the Indian *Kharkhana*? In the old associations of India (trade-guilds), industry was rendered coincident with self-interest ; there was no necessity for costly overseers or slave drivers. The community members were partners in the association, and the economical results were varied. A sense of property raised, so to speak, the whole tone, we may say, of both the quality and quantity of work. It gave to industrial art a very different complexion to the fabrications of the hour. Under the communities, craftsmen enjoyed far more individual liberty than they do at present. It has been well remarked that "the greatest works of art have not been made to order at so much a day." It would be a mockery of the hour if we uprooted the old communal associations which have survived for thousands of years in India, and which in ancient times naturally assisted both the legislator and the administrator and which were channels of protection and instruments of far-reaching charity and of contentment,—especially when European economists like Mr. Charles Booth in his "Life and Labour" are recommending State interference, and when in view of the coming Democracy, the Catholic Church has been consolidating her internal organisation by Leagues, Fraternities and Guilds. A certain amount of modification in the ways of Indian Industry—not a radical transformation—is but a necessary sequel to the Industrial Revolution of Europe during the last century. But I would beg of our friends to remember one thing : India is an old civilisation, not a new one like America. UNLESS THE RELATIONS OF CAPITAL AND LABOUR ARE CONSIDERABLY ALTERED, a Mechanical Development on a large scale, with its competition and lust of gold, may be anything but a presage of increased contentment! ¹¹ I am not likely to forget that a body of artisans, who were

11. "This great economic movement (Industrial Revolution) massed the proletariat together in great centres under the autocratic government of the factory system. There was the sentiment of numbers. There was the enthusiasm of the crowd. The knowledge of one was conveyed in the contact of daily labour to other men who worked with the same machinery. Then came a mighty upheaval of the spirit of the Fourth Estate (Working Classes). In Russia within the last few years there has been a

the most submissive and loyal of workmen when I was associated with them, gentle and patient to a fault, not only threw stones and staves at their employers, but within the last few years were the chief among Bombay anarchists. What a parody this is on the remark of Mr. Baines, the Census Commissioner, only three censuses ago : " Happily such questions as Capital and Labour have not arisen in India!" No! and there was no occasion that such should be the case but for the determination of Government to transfer Western ideas *en bloc* to India, forgetting that the Eastern Peninsula is not Europe! I beg to be excused if I repeat myself in re-echoing an opinion, often voiced by retiring Proconsuls and Indian Commanders-in-chief : " If the great body of Indian people, composed of agriculturists and workmen, became disaffected to British rule in a conquered country like India, our people could not hold India for one hour" ! Recent disaffection, therefore, demands that we modify our system of *individual* proprietors, take our cue from the past, and re-organise a system of labour adapted to the *communal type* of national character. We must get back to the ideal of the mediæval guild, AND RELIGION MUST BE RESTORED TO INDUSTRY if we are to have honesty ; and we must take time by the forelock before we engraft the evils of European Labour on the Indian Workshop, and on a necessarily augmented scale.

In addition to this, I think technical education ought to be conducted under guild auspices, for our European Education Department, who have no personal acquaintance with Indian Workshops, could not improve on an Indian system which saw young men join an association of their elders at a time when the vision is most curious and bright, and when the ear is most attentive and receptive. Verbal and collective instruction was the soul of the Indian guild. The guild acted as a great public school to which youngsters were admitted at an age when the mind is most receptive, when the eye is most curious, and the ear quickest. All know the eager manner in which children devour fairy stories, and how their minds delight in images as realities. We can fancy, therefore, how an Oriental youngster rapidly seized on the ideas which

revolution that has failed ; and the failure is very largely ascribed to the fact that in the empire of the Muscovites the Industrial Revolution has scarcely yet accomplished its perfect work. There only in a few great industrial centres are the workmen massed together in workshops, and isolated workers labouring here and there in the estates of the great are hardly cohesive enough to do anything mighty or lasting in the world's history."—*Vide pp. 82 and 14 of a very recent book in the People's Books Series*, entitled "Syndicalism," by J. H. Harley, M.A., who writes in a critical vein and while explaining the Syndicalist attitude and position does not in any way support the *Syndicalist* conclusions : Published in 1912 by Messrs. T. C. and E. C. Jack, 67 Long Acre, London, W.C.—EDITOR, DAWN.

he found in a workshop of Solons. One of the drawbacks to modern life in Europe is the extinction or decline of the family spirit and trust. Much is done, as it were, in a corner, whereas the spirit of the Indian workshop was founded on paternal and fraternal veneration, and everything was submitted to the family. The spirit of the father descended to the son, and with it the experience. This constituted the record, and there was no need for hiding it up in bulky tomes. To all these factors¹² we may attribute the excellences of Indian art in former

12. "The important facts are these: the young craftsman is brought up and educated in the actual workshop and is the disciple of the father. In speaking of the Eastern system of craft education, I use the term *disciple* advisedly; for in the East there is traditionally a peculiar relation of devotion between master and pupil. The master need not be the boy's father; he may be an elder brother, or even unrelated; but in any case, once chosen, he is the ideal of the pupil, from which he never wavers. Devotion and respect for the teacher remain throughout life. I have seen a man of thirty receive wages in the presence of an elder brother, his teacher, and hand them to him as the master with the gentlest possible respect and grace; and as gently and delicately they were received, and handed back, waiving the right to retain. And this same elder brother had an aged father, a great craftsman in his day, and he never returned home with wages without offering them to him in the same way.

"I need not point out what a perfected instrument for the transmission of a living tradition such an education forms. It is thought that the master's secret, his real inward method, so to say, is best learnt by the pupil in devoted personal service. There are often trade secrets, simple enough it may be, but valuable as much in the idea as in the fact; these the master reveals to the *faithful pupil* only after many days, and when he has proved himself worthy. In the workshop, technique is learnt from the beginning, and in relation to real things and real problems, and primarily by service,—personal attendance on the master. And it is not only technique that is learnt,—in the workshop there is life itself, that gives to the pupil both culture and metaphysics, more essential to art than technique itself; for what use is it to speak well if you have nothing worth saying?

"No technical education in the world can ever hope to compensate craftsmen for the loss of these conditions. We get a beautiful and affectionate relation between the apprentice and the master; this is impossible in the case of the busy professor who attends a class at a Technical School for a few hours a week, - and at other times, when engaged on real work, and dealing with real problems, has no connection with the pupils at all. I have been struck, in contrast, by the inefficiency of the great Technical Schools in London, the pride of the County Council. Their watchword is indeed efficiency; but this means that the professor is hauled up before a Committee if he is late in attendance, **not that his personality is a first consideration.** It means, too, that he is expected to be intensely practical, and to go through some curriculum leading to certificates and prizes; woe betide him if he should waste time in giving to his pupils a metaphysic or teaching them mediæval romance. Small wonder that the pupils of these schools have so little to say; they cannot indeed put more into their work than there is in themselves."

* The above are extracts taken from Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy's "The Indian

days, and the want of it, its degeneracy, at this hour. The argument that communal life would be contrary to the doctrine of evolution, which means going forward and not backward, is, I hold, out of place in India, amongst a people like the Hindus. A good deal of modern civilisation, with its barbarous weapons of destruction, may be described as retrograde! European civilisation cannot be termed such an unqualified success that we should be ready to subvert the tried systems of the East. Any attempt on the part of Europeans to ignore the natural and providential arrangement in India can only eventuate in isolation, poverty, discontent, and crime. I am aware what John Stuart Mill says in his Essay on "Liberty", and how England would be nowhere but for her individuality. But India is not England, and the amount of "communality" in the world, in all professions, is much in excess of "individuality."

VI

In all gravity, therefore, I say that Indian craftsmen are deserving of the greatest solicitude. They are not a body of ignorant men as not a few amongst us suppose. I have been acquainted in my time with the Indian "Chamars," or cobblers—*i.e.*, shoe-makers—one of the few

Craftsmen" (Pitman & Co., London, 1909), chapter vi, where the subject of the education of the hereditary craftsmen of the East is discussed at some length. By way of further elucidating the true character of present-day educational system (so as to throw into greater relief the merits of the craft system) our author quotes from an address by Prof. F. L. Nicholls to the *American Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1908, (*vide* the 14th January, 1909 issue of the well-known scientific weekly of London, "*Nature*"). Professor Nicholls observes:—"In this *evaluation of administrative ability over creative gifts*, which are much rarer and more precious, our educational institutions share the weakness which pervades our industrial establishments, where the manager or superintendent usually gets larger pay and is regarded as more important than the most expert craftsmen. In both we see the same striving for a certain sort of efficiency and economy of operation, and for the attainment of a completely standardised product. This tends in both cases to the elimination of individuality and to sterility."

Dr. Coomaraswamy makes some important suggestions towards reforming the existing system of technical education as imparted in the technical schools of to-day in England. They are equally, if not more, important in their relation to Indian life and conditions. "Supposing the aim be," observes Dr. Coomaraswamy, "to train up a generation of skilled and capable craftsmen, it was better to appoint living master-craftsmen as the permanent servants of the Community; endowed with an inalienable salary, or better, a house, and demand of them that they should carry out the public works undertaken by the Community; and that they themselves should keep apprentices choosing out of them one to be their successor in the position of Public Craftsman. Such a system would do more to produce skilled craftsmen, and to produce good work than would twice the money spent on Technical Schools, and on competitive designs for great undertakings,"—EDITOR, DAWN.

guilds of workmen in India who possess pre-historic traditions, and from whom I learned something about leather tokens and a leather coinage. As you examine a Buddhist monument and notice the singular powers of observation that enabled a Hindu workman to note every insect and creeping thing, to depict plants in all stages of growth, from the chrysalis germ to the matured state, your natural remark is, What students of Nature, and how well qualified to be discoverers ! The Indian organs, more specially the dark lustrous eye, were most marvellously adapted to the most minute work, and it only illustrates ignorance when some occidental who has never studied the matter tries to throw ridicule on the "webs of woven wind" or the poetry that envelopes Indian textiles. In showing an engraved Indian seal to a celebrated London firm, the work of a Delhi artist, I heard the remark : "Oh ! that our people had eyes to carry out such minute work !"

There is the strongest presumptive belief that the non-Aryan Indian Workmen originated most of the Indian arts. All that is intellectual in India may be Aryan ; all that is artistic originated with the non-Aryan. The Gwalior Rock had been quarried for countless ages, the quarry-men being of non-Aryan race, and Gwalior unmistakably being a non-Aryan fortress in its origin. The Indian workmen in by far the greatest number were non-Aryan, including miners who discovered nearly all the mineral wealth of India. It has always appeared to me that the glamour of the Aryan race in the West turning out the greatest minds, has caused a wrong view of Indian History, and so India has failed to see that what is called Aryan civilisation was the joint work of non-Aryan and Aryan. The Aryans on arrival in India were mere nomads, with no arts and a very restricted vocabulary, so that whatever be their share of honour, it was on Indian soil that the race evolved all that they acquired. Nor does it appear how they could have *by themselves* acquired the knowledge with which they have been credited, unless in numbers they represented a considerable race; but, bar the colonists, we hear little of their migrations. I may not go so far as Professor Oppert, the Sanskrit scholar who was at Madras, who in his work on the "Original Inhabitants of India" avers that they evolved kingdoms and states, *as well as arts, including commerce*; but assuredly I am not with those who believe that Indian history dates from the time of the Brahmana Rigveda, 1400 B.C.; or with certain assumed authorities who aver, like the late Sir W. W. Hunter, that until the arrival of the Aryans, the Indians,—i.e., the non-Aryans—were a poor, despised people, who erected nothing beyond a few rude, megalithic mounds. The glamour of Vedic story

has left the impression on many minds that the whole of Indian literature, *as well as the arts and sciences*, was the work of the Aryan Brahmans; and until Aryan pretensions were challenged the opinion was long circulated that these wandering people arrived in India with a large assortment of well-developed arts. *Injustice, therefore, of a grievous kind has been done to the Workmen of India.* They were the people who planted the seeds of Hindu Civilisation, one of the first and most useful of arts being agriculture, and the subordinate arts dependent upon it. They were the people who first acclimatised, or rather first domesticated, plants and animals, and made them serviceable for the purposes of man. It was they who first irrigated the soil of India and first established the village community. Indian history is beyond doubt enormously indebted to the Aryan Brahmans for *preserving a record of its arts and transmitting them to posterity.* They are entitled to our highest respect for their philosophy and also as the custodians of art traditions. But Brahmanical records have so perverted Indian History, making out the non-Aryans to have been such a contemptible people, that the true proportion of Indian History has been lost. As the custodians of Indian work and authors of Indian Literature we have reason to be grateful to Aryan Brahmans; but it is an error to suppose that they were the discoverers in ancient times of that vegetable, animal, and mineral wealth *of which a record is found in all Indian vernaculars. Non-Aryan tradition negatives this absurdity.*

The Indian Workmen, therefore, are a great and important body whose ancestors erected the great fabric of Indian Civilisation. It would be a perversion of history to say that Buddha sought to raise the masses of India, although he restored to them a good deal of their original freedom. We can find no trace of slavery on Buddhist sculptures. The sage was too good a Hindu to disturb Hindu civilisation and its constitution; he never interfered with the 'community.' Guilds of workmen (carpenters) were as prominent in his day as they were in the mediæval era. One thing Buddhism did in the person of its Priests and that was the excellent example they gave in the cause of Labour; for they were the authors of the great embankments or Irrigation Works. In this they were not unlike the Christian Monks so deservedly praised by Guizot and Montalembert. Puritanism has tried in England and Scotland to discount our obligations to the Christian Monks, but the archives of Border Abbeys, which we have consulted, show many industries which owe them a great deal. And they were on the side of the *People.* We doubt if the Lords who succeeded to their property on the confiscation of the Abbeys did more! A religious author, Professor Caird, senior, of Glasgow, points out that

Buddhism did nothing for the masses. Much more to our purpose I would ask, What has *our* Government done for the hereditary workmen and craftsmen of India?

VII

Throughout the world there are loud wails against the middleman, the parasite of a machine age, who lives on the brains and work of others, from those of the philosopher in his closet to the weaver at his loom. This essay does not admit of an examination of Free Trade further than asserting that it has not added to the prosperity of Indian hereditary craftsmen and workmen. It has poured money into the coffers of the Bania who is the Indian middleman, who, to use the words of the late Sir Richard Burton, "lives on the sweat of other people's brow"; but it has not added to the comfort of the Indian hereditary workers. The Banias, not the workmen, are the class and a usurer class, our rule has propitiated; for we must recollect that multiplied Trade Returns and Parsi Millionaires are no evidence as to the prosperity of the working classes of India. The competitive trade, or rather a system of unjust competition, was launched upon India with all its drawbacks. For, the advocates of this system which gave a freehand to the middleman and speculator in Europe, could see no harm in the stranger farming the agriculturist or ryot's land, or purchasing his crops months before it was harvested. I do not for a moment contest the great wealth that has been evolved, and is daily increasing under the restless energy of British Rule, but the great drawback to it is that comparatively little of it goes into the hand of the producer, be he agricultural or artisan. I hold that the specious language of some Indian apologists of the Western system is liable to deceive. Their refrain is, "with boundless riches, an increasing supply of coal, and cheap labour, what will not India do in the future?" That is the language of Western Individualism and Commercialism so helpful to the middleman capitalist and speculator, but ruinous to the hereditary Indian workmen. Under the guise of (Individual) Liberty, Saxon Civilisation encourages Individual and Private Enterprise, whenever she can, her present policy in England leaning towards State collectivism; while Communal collectivism is an exception to her rule. And she goes upon the principle that what is good for one country is good for another. But the Sociology of India, whether there are still tribal communities, is wholly different from that of Europe; and I wholly distrust Individualism in a country like India with a natural socialism (communalism) and interdependency. My distrust is of the Indian as 'individual', (as distinguished from his communal membership) either as a landlord or as employer of labour; he is an excellent man *inside*

his community, but "individualism" he does not understand, and so there will be the fear of his exploiting his countrymen under an individualistic system of Private Enterprise. On my part it may appear to savour of boldness, and yet I venture to assert that the policy of the Indian Government is both a snare and a delusion, founded on European wants, i.e., Saxon Individualism, while ignoring that the pivot of Indian Civilisation is centred in the collective or communal principle—a natural collectivism and socialism, very different to that which the Liberal Government has been seeking to inaugurate in Saxon England. For, the Indian craftsman or workman lives in groups, thinks collectively, speaks collectively, and acts collectively. Isolation or individualism is as foreign and hateful to him as it is agreeable to the Anglo-Saxon on whom all the advantages of Parish Councils are often thrown away. The custom of the Hindus has been to live in groups, and this from the infancy of their civilisation ; that of the Saxon was to live isolated and in detached hamlets. You meet the Hindus in the courtyard of the palace, in the temple, at the immemorial fair, in the *workshops*, *but always in groups*. But corporate i.e., communal work *in the Hindu sense*, the Anglo-Saxon "individual" does not understand, and Syndicates in industry are generally worked by "bosses".¹³ And when we think of the efforts made of recent years to *confer autonomy on British villages*, we may well deplore the mischief done to India by those who have deprived the people of India of their birthright, and *all for the purpose of foisting on the country an incongruous individualism*. Therefore, the fad of the Western schoolmaster (fed on Western individualism), "Help yourself, and God will help you," becomes in communal India the language of a veritable misnomer. Consequently, however commendable may be the refrain of the English schoolmaster, or of the Government Resolutions issued by a former Secretary of the Government of

13. This aspect of the matter is clearly applicable in the case of Joint-stock Companies which are usually controlled and worked by a board of directors without much reference to the shareholders providing the capital. The following quotation from Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald's recent book, *The Socialist Movement* (Home University Library, Williams and Norgate, London, 1912), will illustrate the point :—“The limited liability, or joint-stock, company arose to make a further stage in capitalist evolution. The constitution of these companies is quite familiar. Their capital is raised in the form of shares, it is controlled by a board of directors, generally by a managing director, and those *who have provided it have practically no voice in the management of the business*. Shareholders' meetings are held occasionally ; but apart from the fact that many shareholders never attend these meetings, *the power which the shareholder has does not amount to much more than to express gratitude or grumble*. Except at a crisis, *the directors, working within the bounds of the Articles of the Association, hold an absolute authority.*” (*Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.)

India in the Department of Revenue and Agriculture, Sir Edward Buck, recommending self-help and private enterprise, we must take the Hindu nature and Hindu national character as we find them, and must never think that the destruction of the natural collectivism of the Hindu,—his home, his community, and his guild—*in an attempted assimilation of European and Indian ideas*,—would be an advantage. I am convinced that in ignoring the natural collectivism (i.e., communalism) of the Hindu and seeking to “individualise” every phase of his life, the Saxon has overstepped his mission. Our whole political economy in India, whether it deals with land settlement, taxation, collection of revenue, fiscal policy, wages, capitalism, or the organisation of labour is based on the European, individualist system; but there is no analogy between the sociological systems obtaining in Europe and in India, (—the individualistic and the communalistic) and so there is the danger of an exaggerated and incongruous occidentalism for the latter country. The manual of John Stuart Mill, which is simply a rehash and an inferior one of Adam Smith is simply out of place in India, nor do we think the more philosophical works of Mr. Jevons and Professor Marshall suitable. The treatise of Professor Devas of Stoneyhurst College goes nearer to Indian wants and circumstances, and he has a proper appreciation of the collective or communal principle. *India urgently requires a new economical manual.*

The hereditary workmen and craftsmen of India feel the necessity of English protection; but by an irony of fate the over-application of Western ideas is withdrawing that very protection which ought to be the mission of a strong race to confer on an inherently weaker one. Their lot is intimately bound up with the prosperity of India, and my theory is that Europeanism on a large scale is handicapping that prosperity. Let it be remembered that they have no political representation, in other words, *are not members of the body politic*; consequently in applying the INDIVIDUALISTIC THEORIES of the European economist, missionary, and schoolmaster to their case, we are involuntarily withdrawing that very protection which ought to be our privilege to confer. England will lose nothing by fulfilling the role of a great protector.

VIII

In a deeply conservative country like India—so much so that some parts of it are still in the stone or mediæval periods of history—the *laissez faire* doctrine of economic freedom founded upon principles of English individualism is wholly misleading. People who advocate such freedom forget that liberty under some aspects is but another name for oppression. A sweating system among a physically far from

robust race, and unable to protect themselves, would amount to an abuse of power and horrible oppression. The temptation to abuse cheap labour is so great that Government, both in its own interest and that of its subjects, ought to intervene to protect India's hereditary workmen, this being the duty of a paternal despotism where there is personal rule, and so get rid of a platitude admirable in individualistic Europe, but often out of place in communal India, "Help yourself, and God will help you." The Indian workman is a non-selfreliant being, accustomed from the dawn of history to a protection and a lead, so that in applying the fiscal doctrines and usages of the West, we are withdrawing from him one of the first conditions of his being. The Government of India at this moment—ayc the Pax Britannica, if not quite patriarchal rule—is little better than a parental despotism, and the invariable concomitant or sequel to this form of government, logically speaking, is Protection. Indeed such protection is doubly necessary, seeing that the people have no proper representation. With the rise of European industry and the discovery of new countries and new sources of wealth, a great change took place in the fortunes of India; and coming down to our own times, the industrial revolution of Europe gave the Western Hemisphere a great advantage over our Indian Dependency. The balance of trade changed, and aided by the principles of Cobden's vision of commercial freedom, the West was enabled for a time to flood India with products, many of which are not required,¹⁴ as that sagacious Indian statesman, Sir Thomas Munro, pointed out, and the *Indian Workshop was virtually closed*. All this time India had no political representation in England. It is only within the last few years that there has been any native representation upon the Indian Secretary of State's Council, and he is no representative of India's hereditary craftsmen and workmen. Our Government, as I have observed, is a class Government, and on a recent occasion I sought to point out that while the European merchant in India was fully represented at Whitehall with delegates from the European Chamber of Commerce at Calcutta, Indian craftsmen and workmen had no representative! Happily the days are gone by when a high official in answer to a remonstrance of mine could say, "The workmen of India are of no political significance." Moreover, I venture to insist that

14. "No one can advance an argument in favour of cheap aniline dyes taking the place of the celebrated vegetable productions of India. Fabrics are subject to rapid destruction; an insidious poison, almost as hurtful as opium, is introduced with unsanitary mischief, and the old tintorial knowledge becomes gradually obliterated. Hindus do not want the introduction of mineral dyes to destroy clothes under the pretence of Cobdenite cheapness, in a land plentifully supplied with vegetable substances. In securing a beautiful white colour, it is much safer to rely on the bleaching virtues of an Indian stream than on appliances that destroy clothes, like those used in French laundries and susceptible of communicating disease."—J. B. KEITH.

you cannot separate the economical aspect of the Indian Problem from the political. I have been, however, more concerned in the transition state of Indian industry to see the workman protected from the exploitation of his own countrymen. To me the most important phase of the new condition of affairs is the installation of Indian individual capitalists as employers of labour or owners of factories ; for, as I have already explained, my apprehension in the matter arises from my distrust of the Indian "individual", either as a landlord or as an employer of labour,—for, "individualism" he does not understand,¹⁶ while he is excellent *inside his "community."* Of the Indian as

15. Mr. Keith's position is that the Hindu's forte is not 'individualism' as understood in Europe, and that his greatest achievements in the direction of charity and philanthropy hitherto have been made under the influence of the collective i.e., the communal spirit. To illustrate the point that the wealthy Hindu capitalist does not understand Western 'individualism', in the sense of cheerfully accepting, like the Western millionaire or the Western landlord, the duties, responsibilities and burdens of the possessor of wealth in reference to the public weal, the following extracts taken from (1) Major Keith's Brochure of 1894 and (2) Major W. Nassau Lees's *The Land and Labour of India* are appended :—

(1) "In America, we continually see wealthy citizens making bequests for the erection of Arts Institutes, Free Libraries, &c, but there is no sign of such wealth in India, and Art is indigenous to the country. Bombay boasts of a large number of fine public buildings, but it is essentially a European city, whose wealth is chiefly distributed among our countrymen and the Parsees. Except a few hospitals and Jubilee buildings, *which were not always the spontaneous gifts of Indians*, little or nothing has been done in British territory. Neither Agra nor Allahabad has a single native building which can be considered an acquisition to those towns. Benares has only the Government College, and it is built in European style, many of its stones being obtained by the destruction of the Sarnath Tope!"—J. B. KEITH. In contrast to this is to be noted the argument advocated by Mr. Keith in a previous part of this Essay that the Hindu, Buddhist and Jain public works were mainly "the outcome of free labour and free self-supporting communities." This latter fact is abundantly borne out by the lithic records or the inscriptions. Thus, to give only one instance out of a considerable body of evidence that has been collected by the labours of epigraphists,—The *stupas* at or near Sanchi in Central India not very far from Ujjain are buildings of the time of Asoka, on various parts of which are numerous inscriptions recording the names of the persons or *communities* who contributed to the erection of any particular part.—Vide *Votive Inscriptions from the Sanchi Stupas* by G. Buhler, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E., in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II., p. 82. There are also abundant evidences to show that it is the communal organisations or guilds that have been responsible for the erection of temples, dharmasalas or rest-houses, cattle troughs, and water-sheds and the establishment of *pinjrapoles*, the planting of *shade trees* and the feeding of the poor—and all as part of communal duty. Major Keith elsewhere points out that "until the family or communal spirit" (as contra-distinguished from individualism) was threatened in India—I may add vitiated—India had no need of European altruism ; for the spirit that erected hospitals thousands of years before the advent of Christianity took care to make provision that no grand-aunt

"individual" I have as wholesome a distrust as the Indian legislator who framed the Indian Constitution and formed the people into communities and classes. In so doing he understood his countrymen far better than we do and this in the interest of social tranquility. I admit that the should starve, and so was enabled to decline the charity of Government."

(2) In the text Major Keith says that he distrusts the Hindu "individual" as a *landlord*, although he is "excellent inside the community" i.e., excellent as long as he lives, moves and has his being as an organic member of the communal association to which he belongs. This subject of landlordism which in the West is intimately bound up with the principle of *individualism* throws some clear light upon the ideal of *individualism* as understood and practised in the West; for the ideal associates itself with certain duties and responsibilities (as well as privileges) which are inseparable from the conception of an English landlord. The contention is that the Hindu 'individual' landlord hardly understands the true individualistic position, which is altogether a Western ideal,—and, therefore, when Lord Cornwallis by his Bengal Permanent Settlement of 1793 raised a body of men who had been hitherto collectors of revenue to the position of *landlords* in the Western sense, he committed a great and irreparable error. For, again, the contention is that the Hindu *individual* whose whole life and traditions are *communal* could hardly be expected to raise himself to the level of understanding and realising the point of view of a sane individualism in its application to the problem of landlordism. Thus, a very able writer who had spent eighteen years of his life in India and about half the period in Bengal itself "officially translating into the native languages for publication the returns of the public works annually executed by private individuals in Bengal,"—Major W. Nassau Lees, LL.D.,—in his book on "The Land and Labour of India" published (1867) by Messrs. Williams and Norgate of London, formulated certain charges against the Bengal landlords (*Zemindars*), the creation of the enactment of 1793, which are ultimately traceable to his insistence upon the point of view of 'individualism, such as is understood and practised in England and in the West generally. The substance of the charges—which, as we have noted, are wholly founded upon an application of the theory of Western individualism—may be given in Major Lees's own words:—"The Government of India, in making a perpetual settlement with the *Zemindars* of Bengal, doubtless considered that they have made over, *with the surplus profits accruing by the increase in cultivation and the value of the produce*, the duties and responsibilities which it still retained in its own hands in the North West, and it confidently expected that the *Zemindars* would willingly accept *the high responsibility which attaches to ownership in the soil*. It is admitted that they have increased their own wealth, and added to the value of their personal estates by the reclamation of wastes, and I should be extremely sorry to deprive them of any credit which is their just due on this score. But have they aided in improving the means of land or river inter-communication; have they made roads, built bridges or canals; have they established hospitals for the sick, alms-houses for the poor, caravansaries for the weary and exhausted; have they assisted in the maintenance of an ancient police; have they built colleges or schools, or attempted to improve the existing wretched village *pathsalas* of the country, or expended any portion whatever of their accumulated savings in elevating morally or intellectually their less fortunate fellow-countrymen; have they given long leases to their tenants on such terms as have enabled them to improve their holdings and attain a small degree of prosperity; have they built

outcome of Lord Cromer's influence in India was to throw Indian industry entirely into the hands of Europeans and he did little to encourage native capital. Now the danger is quite in another direction, for industry is passing into the hands of Indian capitalists. As regards

houses for them, drained or funded their lands, or in any way cared for their comfort or welfare ; finally, have they shown a particle of that enterprise, energy and activity of character, *which in other countries tend to divert the surplus wealth of one section of the people into channels from whence all derive advantage* and to which England owes her fine roads, her many railways, her mighty steam-companies, her mining, iron-working, and other companies ? They have done none of these things. But that is not all. The Zemindars have not only not discharged those duties and responsibilities in respect of public works which in other countries landlords most cheerfully accept, but shielding themselves behind the letter of the enactment, they have refused all further aid to Government in lieu of any extraordinary protection they may be afforded in times of extreme peril, or for any public purpose whatever... Lord Cornwallis, no doubt, thought to make English landlords of the Zemindars of Bengal, but it is patent to the world that he succeeded in making only Irish ones." (Ibid., pp. 173, 177, 168).

Major Lees, however, is not insensible to the fact that in finding fault with the Bengal landlord, he was arguing from the " English standpoint", i.e., arguing on the basis of the ideal of landlordism as understood and practised in England, which was for long and still is the home of *individualism per excellence*. Thus, we find him explaining that—" Though in clearly stating the case as between Government and its subjects, the peculiarity of the situation compels me to lay bare facts in all their nakedness, I do not desire to be understood as blaming the Zemindars of Bengal in the degree the unmeasured terms here used would imply. In viewing the case I have looked at it from an English standpoint, for the special benefit of Englishmen unacquainted with the circumstances of India and its people. I am fully aware that in their own small way, the Zemindars have always done something towards building wells, tanks, school houses, making village roads, &c. The Bengali Zemindar has acted in accordance with the dictates of his uneducated mind, and his narrowed intellect, and possibly, in a manner not very dissimilar to that in which other people, similarly situated and in a similar stage of social, moral and intellectual progress would act." (Ibid., pp. 179-180). We would only like to add in this connection, that Major Lees's conception of " progress, social, moral and intellectual " is also drawn from the standpoint of " progress " achieved by the development and exercise of the principle of *individualism*; whereas the whole history of Hindu India with its glorious records of achievements in the various fields of human life and activity is the direct product and outcome of the working of another and no less powerful principle of human conduct—namely, that of *communalism*,—a principle which has stamped upon the national character an impress which distinguishes it for all times from the civilised peoples of the West.

In view of the inapplicability of the ideal of English landlordism (founded on Western individualism) to the characters of the Hindu (fed, as we hold, on a different ideal of life), Major Lees conceived that the anticipated benefits of English landlordism might have been achieved by another method—by substituting, for instance, the method of " bargain " in the place of the method actually adopted by Lord Cornwallis, namely, that of recording His Excellency's " anxious wishes "

ourselves, I am quite satisfied that whatever may be the outcome of Western ideas, our countrymen, an inherently strong race, will see the justice of protecting an inherently weak one.

I think it a misfortune that Lord Morley's scheme gives no real representation to the hereditary craftsmen and workmen of India, while it enables the men or masters translated to the Supreme Council, to exercise unequal power. An agricultural landlord, like a talukdar in Oudh, has of course a vote in the Provincial Council, but not so his tenant. We are told that the Indian delegates to the Supreme Council, are men of higher culture ; but it is not generally known, as I have already pointed out, that the Native Architect in the Guild is also a man of high intelligence. All men will applaud Lord Morley for seeking to pacify troubled spirits, but in his Council Bills, if he will forgive me for saying so, he aims at *enfranchising a minority at the expense of the far greater majority*,¹⁶ consisting of the hereditary craftsmen and workmen of India—the great masses agricultural and artisan. Now, whatever evils the caste system may have had in preventing a workman from rising in the social scale—evils compensated in more

and "confident expectations" such as have been formally embodied in the enactment of 1793. Thus, he remarks,—“Were the transactions presented in the form of an agreement or bargain, that is to say, were Government to say to the landlords—‘we will fix your land assessments for ever, giving you not only all the surplus profits and fruits of your own industry and outlay of capital, but such security of title, such property in the soil, as by enabling you to raise money, will place you in a position so to improve your land, that in a few years to come, instead of returning you as at present 10 per cent. on your outlay or purchase money, it will yield you 30 or 40 per cent., provided that when that day comes, instead of giving us, as now, 5 per cent., or half your profits, you will give us 10 per cent., or one-third or one-fourth of your profits, in whatever form may be most convenient or most agreeable to yourselves.’ Were the Government to say this, the arrangement would be a very desirable one for all parties.” (*Ibid.*, pp. 171-172).—EDITOR, DAWN.

16. The Hon'ble E. S. Montagu, M.P., Under-Secretary of State for India in his Budget Speech in the House of Commons, July 26, 1911 referred to this absence of representation of the working classes of India on the Legislative Councils of India, and to the fact that the Indian members represented the landlord and capitalist classes. Thus—“The leaders of Indian opinion must set their faces against the degradation of labour, and they need to be specially vigilant, because India's working classes, *besides being themselves unorganised, are not directly represented on the Legislative Councils, whose Indian members come exclusively from the landlord and capitalist classes.....*The development of capitalisation is sure to bring forward in India, as everywhere, certain men who in the hurry to grow rich will take advantage of the necessities of the poor and the want of organisation among the Indian labourers. A Factory Act was passed, last year, after a long and exhaustive enquiry by a Committee and a Commission,

ways than one—it did not go in for "class" in our sense. Lord Curzon in criticising the Indian Councils Bill asked the pertinent question, 'What representation have the masses of India?' and in a subsequent speech at Oldham on quite another problem, referred to the advantages

giving increased protection to the worker and greater inspecting and controlling powers to the Government. But the Government cannot advance beyond that.... All the greater reason that public-spirited Indians should take care that these unrepresented interests are carefully considered."

Mr. Montagu's explanation for the non-representation of Indian Labour on the Legislative Councils is as follows :—" It is not due to any defect in the law but to the condition of Indian Society. Labour, long accustomed to silent drudgery, has not yet found a voice, and it will probably be long before it makes itself heard in the Legislative Councils." Major Keith's contention is that if the Government did not go in for *individualism*, but supported and fostered the Indian communal associations like the guilds and the village communities, which were the natural products of the soil ;—in other words, if the Government did not adopt a policy of "an exaggerated and incongruous *occidentalism*" in the administration of the country, they would find ample means of securing a measure of popular representation for the Indian masses, agricultural and artisan. The whole governmental scheme being founded on ideals and theories of political representation which have their application to societies organised on the individualistic principle, we can understand Mr. Montagu's point of view when he declares that "it will probably be a long time before the voice of Indian Labour makes itself directly heard on the Legislative Councils." And so long as this is so, there is no doubt that the Government of the country would be liable to be described by men interested like Major Keith in the protection of Indian workmen and craftsmen as a class-government, whose highest officials would have to remain content only with preaching counsels of perfection to the representatives of the landlord and capitalist classes on the Government's Councils.

At the close of the last session of the Baroda Legislative Council, (May 1, 1913), His Highness the Gaekwar made an interesting reference to this question of the political representation of the different "communities" and "castes". It would appear that His Highness puts a very high estimate on the value of representation of other than "the literary classes who could easily make their views heard by the Government". His Highness said :—" He could not favour one community or caste, however "high" it might be considered, at the expense of another, however "low". He wanted *all communities* to be equally well represented. His Highness wished in particular that the agricultural classes and the depressed classes should be well represented. The agricultural classes preponderated in Baroda and they were the pillars of the State. They also ought to be enabled to make their voices heard in the Councils of the State. Graduates, Vakils and other educated classes could easily make their views heard by the Government. By this His Highness did not mean to put a low estimate on the value of representation by the literary classes. But His Highness wanted to know also the needs and aspirations of the common man. He wished to hear the voice of not one class only but of all classes of his subjects. His Highness exhorted the Councillors to be always broad-minded and sympathetic, to discard narrow clannish views and to look on all classes of people with a fraternal eye. If, unfortunately, some classes of people occupied a lower position than themselves, let them not treat these lower classes with contempt." (Vide *The Panjabee* of Lahore, May 6, 1913)—EDITOR, DAWN

of hereditary industry in that country. Our liberal statesmen may deny it, but their policy in India is an attempted assimilation of Indian and European ideas ; and if men like John Stuart Mill and Lord Morley have repudiated English representative institutions, with an eventual assembly in India like the British Parliament, they cannot deny that they have tentatively been giving the people a political education with this goal in view. The Indian Problem is an extremely complex one, full of side lights and obstacles, as well as opposite racial interests, and a statesman under the existing political control has to look to the claims of our own people, the need of our own operatives, as well as those of India, and, above all, to the necessity of safeguarding the Paramount Power, so that it is not easy to hold the scales. With the disintegration of Hindu indigenous institutions, the Village Community in many portions of India is assuming a most attenuated form, and the old guild being either almost crushed out or in a progressive state of decline,¹⁷ it is very difficult to suggest

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17. The influence of guilds in India which are now confined to a diminishing number of localities, has been steadily undermined through the premature introduction of a foreign fiscal system resulting in the application of methods and ideals of modern commercialism in the industrial affairs of India, methods and ideals which afford to the spirit of unregulated competition in the pursuit of personal, individual gain, which is destructive of all ideals of **Standard** in industrial production, an unrestrained field for development,— methods and ideals which oppose themselves also to the conservation of the interest of the community, which the guild sets itself specially to serve. It is a significant fact that the owners of modern mills and factories —a body which have come into existence with (to quote Sir George Birdwood) "the unrestricted development of the competitive impulse particularly in the pursuit of individual gain", and who cannot be called to book by any other machinery than that of the Government, have not enrolled themselves in any guild even in localities where guilds still possess considerable influence. At present guilds are most prominent in Gujarat and specially at Ahmedabad, which may be said to be the centre of guild-life in modern India. In 1879 an account of the trade-guilds at Ahmedabad compiled by Mr. F. S. P. Lely of the Indian Civil Service was published in the *Bombay Gazetteer* (vol. iv., pp. 106-116) and about that time accounts of guilds in other districts of the Presidency were also furnished in their respective volumes : *Craft-Guilds of Surat* in vol. ii., p. 321 : *Trade-Guilds of Broach* in vol. ii., pp. 441-447 : *Guilds in Gujarat* in vol. ix., part i., sections iii. and iv., pp. 69-122 : *Guilds in Panch Mahals*, in vol. iii., p. 251 : *Guilds in Kathiawar* in vol. viii., pp. 265-266 : *Guilds in Baroda* in vol. vii., pp. 160-162 : *Guilds in Poona* in vol. xviii., part ii., p. 173, etc. There is also a brief account of the Ahmedabad Guilds in the recent official publication, the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. v. (p. 101), which appears to have been condensed from previous official reports. Sir George Birdwood's *The Industrial Arts of India* was published in 1880, and the author, while drawing for his materials upon his own independent knowledge of facts, was also clearly indebted for information to the above-mentioned official accounts. About twenty years later, Dr. E. H. Hopkins, M.A., PH.D., Professor of Sanskrit at the Yale University in the U. S. A.,

how a popular vote ought to be secured to Indian craftsmen and workmen, or what representation they should have in the legislative assemblies of the Provincial and Supreme Governments. Nevertheless, in the case of an old civilisation like that of the

in his "India, Old and New" (pp. 169-205) gave a study of Indian trade-guilds, recording the results of his own personal inquiries made in 1896 specially at Ahmedabad, his enquiries having extended to various places in Gujarat and Rajputana as well as to other Indian towns. In 1909, Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, D.Sc., that talented and indefatigable worker in the cause of Indian National Idealism, gave to the public his *The Indian Craftsman* (Probsthain & Co., London), a small volume which gives in the course of about 125 pages a most reliable picture of the indigenous methods of wealth-production in India and which must be consulted by every student of Indian art industry and Indian sociology.

We have seen on p. 101 of this essay Major Keith's testimony to the existence of "competent architectural Guilds, of which there are admirable ones in Mathura, Agra, Gwalior, and other parts of India", and his comment that "Government would have taken a right step, if it had placed the erection of its Universities, Colleges, and Schools in their hands". We note also that in a letter to *The Times* of London, 17th December, 1912, over the joint signatures of Mr. T. W. Rhys Davids, the President, Mr. W. Rothenstein, the Chairman, and Mr. Fox Strangways, the Secretary, of the India Society of London, there is the statement recorded that "Indians have raised within recent times many domestic buildings (such as at Muttra and in Orissa), a Railway Station (at Alwar), Palaces (along the Ghats at Benares and other sacred places), and Royal Palaces (as now at Bikaneer)". There is no doubt that architectural guilds, or other kinds of craft-guilds still form part of the polity of Native Indian States like Jaipore, Bhavnagar, Bikaneer and Mysore, for instance ; and in great centres of indigenous art, like Benares, Agra, Dacca, Madura, Tanjore, and indeed in almost all the great ancient cities of India. In the absence of a proper Industrial Survey undertaken under official auspices, it is not safe to postulate that the guild methods of wealth production have almost wholly died out ; at any rate there are grounds for holding that if the Government are inclined to give the indigenous communal system a fair chance, instead of neglecting it, or allowing it to die out through the premature introduction and encouragement of the methods of individualistic commercialism and through the enforcement of a fiscal policy suited to such methods, there is enough of the traditional indigenous system still surviving to give the authorities an opportunity of retracing their steps.

At many places in Bengal, especially among people who carry on trade or manufacture on indigenous lines, the guild spirit is still operative. In Dainhat near Katwa (District Burdwan, Bengal) which is an old trading and manufacturing centre, the traders (especially those who deal in brass-articles) keep apart a portion of their sale-proceeds for a common Barwari fund, the greater part of which is utilised in celebrating a communal trade festival, the Barwari, during a Puja, say once in twelve years. It is celebrated with great *cclât* for about a month,—with *Jatras* (indigenous dramatic performances),—the holding of *melas* (fairs),—the feasting of the poor,—processions, &c.,—which are modelled on communal lines and the communal idea. These manufacturers and traders enforce several guild rules ; they prevent under-selling and unfair competition by enforcing fixed prices—a list of such prices is hung up in every shop. The same practice is also noticeable among the brass-

Hindus, mutilated but not extinct, and which owes its vitality to the family spirit, i.e., the communal, collective principle, the aim of the Government ought to be to improve the indigenous ground-plan with a due admixture of the principle of individualism, but not to subvert it. The village community and the guild are the offspring of the same family or the communal principle, and if obsolete, or partly so, in another Hemisphere, such as Europe, it ought not to be regarded in

dealers of Barrabazar, the great native centre of trade in Calcutta, who are Brahmins mostly hailing from the Burdwan and Moorshidabad districts of Bengal. These also occupy an important position in the bazaars of other towns, e.g., Dinajpur in North Bengal, where they occupy what is known as the *Basania-patti* i.e., the ward of the town occupied by the guild of manufacturers and dealers in metal utensils. Not only guild wards (technically known as *pattis*), but also caste wards (technically known as *mahallas*) are still the outstanding features of the *old towns* of India, and testify to the still subsisting forces of communalism operating in Hindu Society, which may be yet utilised to further the ends of a civic reconstruction on indigenous lines. Thus, in all the *old towns* of modern India, the people live in different wards according to their castes (e.g., *Bania-pura*, &c.), and the shops are always arranged according to *pattis*—manufacturers and traders dealing in different classes of goods having their workshops or shops in different patti (or *puras*), e.g., Kaina-patti, Basania-patti ; and also Sankhari-pura, Kansari-pura, Tanti-pura, &c.

The modern Western world of corporate municipal life is based on the *assumption* that the civic corporation is a homogeneous body, since it consists of a number of individuals (—not communities)—regarded only in their capacity as citizens, apart from the special circumstances surrounding their lives and occupations, apart from the *special functions they discharge in the life of the civic organism*. The unity that is thus sought to be attained is, in our opinion, necessarily more or less of an abstract character, while the corporate force generated is not available for use except within a very narrow and restricted field. Whereas in the Indian civic scheme, *associated with and regulated by the communal idea*, the unity of the caste or the guild unit is of a more far-reaching character, influencing the whole life of its members, religious, social, economic and professional ; while at the same time, as has been shown in an article entitled, *The Indian City : City-Planning in an Indian Scheme of National Life*,—appearing in the February, 1913 issue of this Magazine,—the guild or caste-units, representing different functions of the civic organism, are capable of a further integration,—capable of a higher form of organised life than is possible for a mere *aggregation* of what are supposed to be homogeneous units on an abstract basis of common citizenship. To adopt the words of Mr. A. K. Connell, M.A., the author of “The Economic Revolution of India and the Public Works Policy,” [Kegan Paul, French & Co., London, 1883]—“the villages” [and the communally organised cities]—“still include all that we mean by church, community, and country. If the life of the village [and the communal city] be destroyed, Indian Society is in a state of spiritual dissolution, and is only held together by the external force of an omnipotent Government, which protects the *individual rights* it has itself bestowed, but *paralyses the sense of social obligations which have been handed down from the past and crushes the creative powers of the present.*” (*Ibid.*, pp. 169-170) In his connection, as a true characterisation of the ancient guild, the following short extract from Mr. Arthur J. Penty’s *The Restoration of the Guild System* (Swan Sonneschein & Co., London, 1906) seems to be most illuminating ;—“Being social, religious, and political, as well as industrial institutions, *the Guilds postulated in their organisation the essential unity of life.*” (*Ibid.*, p. 64)—EDITOR, DAWN.

that light in India,¹⁸ which lies in a different physical and mental zone to that of Europe, travels at a different rate, *so that what tends to create activity in Europe* (see Dr. Draper's "Intellectual Europe") *tends to create repose in India*. According to the authority of Sir Henry Maine, the "village community" has been the unit of government for all those who have administered the affairs of India, but we have allowed

18. It is a remarkable confirmation of the truth of the position taken up by Major J. B. Keith, namely, as to the supreme value of the village community to the Indian people that even in individualistic England, a group of earnest sociological thinkers who are also highly cultured craftsmen, men, for instance, like Mr. C. R. Ashbee, M.A., F.R.I.B.A., the founder of "the Guild of Handicraft"—should have turned their attention to the forces of communalism still subsisting in India, and found in them exactly the conditions which they are demanding for the better reconstruction of socio-economic life in the West. In Section IX (B) of this essay, Major Keith points out that "the feature of Indian life has been village industries in the village community". Mr. Ashbee's confession of faith—and Mr. Ashbee is the representative of a growing and influential class of thinkers—is as follows :—

"The English craftsman and the English village are passing or have passed away; and it is only in quite recent times that we have discovered that they, too, are the counterpart, one of the other. Industrial machinery, blindly misdirected, has destroyed them both, and recent English land legislation has been trying, with Allotment and Small Holdings Acts to re-establish the broken village life. Those of us, however, that have studied the Arts and Crafts in their town and country conditions, are convinced that the Small Holding Problem is possible of solution only by some system of co-operation, and if some forms of craftsmanship are simultaneously revived and added to it....It is probable that in this effort of Western artists, workmen and reformers for the reconstruction of society, the East can help us even more than we shall help the East....The spiritual re-awakening in the West is appealing for a social condition in which each man shall have not only an economic but a spiritual status in the society in which he lives, or as some of us would prefer to call it, he should have a stable economic status in order that he may have a spiritual status as well. It is such a condition that still exists in India....It is a curious and suggestive thought that spiritual re-awakening in England which goes now by the name of the higher culture, now by the name of Socialism, which has been voiced in our time by Ruskin and Morris, which has expressed itself in movements like the Arts and Crafts, or is revealed in the inspired paintings of the Pre-Raphaelites, demands such a condition as in India our commercialism is destroying." (Vide Mr. C. R. Ashbee's "Foreword" to Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy's *The Indian Craftsman*; pp. xiv, xii, &c.)

And again : "The five hundred years that have passed between our Middle Ages and the growth of the great cities of machine industry *may have proved* that the destruction of the Western village community was inevitable, but it *has not proved* that where the village community still exists, it need necessarily be destroyed. Indeed, we are finding out in the West that *if the village tradition were still living it could still be utilized; we are even seeking to set up something like it in its place.* What would we not give in England for a little of that "workshop service" which Dr. Coomaraswamy describes, in place of our half-baked evening classes in County Council schools? What, in an effort at the revival of handicrafts in the decaying

both it and the guild to fall into decay. Through them, on a revived remodelled, and more perfected form, I would seek the basis of securing to the hereditary craftsmen and workmen of India a measure of popular representation¹⁹. We might even go further, as I have hinted,

country-side, for some of those "religious trade union villages," of which Sir George Birdwood speaks? (Ibid., pp. viii, ix, xii.)

"For, the great city of mechanical industry has come to a point when its disintegration is inevitable. There are signs that the devolution has already begun, both in England and America. The cry of "back to the land", the plea for a "more reasonable life", the revival of the handicrafts, the education of hand and eye, the agricultural revival, the German "ackerbau", the English small holding, our technical schools, all these things are indications of a need for *finding something, if not to take the place of the village community, at least to bring once again into life* those direct, simpler, human and out-of-door things of which mechanical industry has deprived our working population. These things are necessary to our life as a people, and we shall have to find them somehow. Dr. Coomaraswamy does well to show how still they exist in great measure in the East, and it may be that the East in her wisdom, and with her profound conservative instinct, will not allow them to be destroyed. She has, as Sir George Birdwood puts it, let the races and the peoples for 3,000 years come and pass by; she may have taken this from one and that from another, but the fundamental democratic order of her society has remained, and it appears improbable, on the face of it, that we English shall materially change it when so many others before us have left it undisturbed.....Even if we admit that the change in the Aryan of the West from the one basis (personal responsibility and co-operation) to the other (contract and competition) has been necessary in order to produce the conditions of modern progress, it may yet be that the spiritual re-awakening that is beginning to stir the dry bones of our Western materialism may yet leave the ancient East fundamentally unchanged, and *bring us once again into some kind of condition through our contact with her.*" (Ibid., pp. ix, x, xi). EDITOR, DAWN.

19. On the question of popular representation, we have to remember that in ancient India *representatives* of the Vaisya and Sudra castes, corresponding according to modern modes of classification—to the following divisions of the peoples, namely, merchants, traders, agriculturists, craftsmen and labourers—formed component parts of the highest executive machinery of the realm—namely, the Council of Amatyas (Ministers) of the Sovereign. Thus, in the Mahabharata (Santi Parva, chapter 85, verses 7-12) we notice the rule laid down that the king while remaining the head of the Executive was to work in co-operation with a Council of Amatyas (Ministers) which should be representative of all classes of the people—a Ministry composed of four Brahmanas, eight Kshatriyas, twenty-one Vaisyas, three Sudras, and one Suta. [The Sutas were a mixed caste begotten of Brahman mothers and Kshatriya fathers, and were generally the Court Chroniclers of ancient India.] Further, we learn from the verses referred to above that out of this body of thirty-seven members, a committee of Eight was to be appointed to specially assist the Sovereign in the framing of Rules and Regulations. The Sanskrit-knowing reader will do well to look up the original texts for himself; but for our present purposes a general rendering of the same should be enough.

Thus, we find that according to the Mahabharata, the Council of Amatyas or the Ministry should be thus constituted:—Four Brahmanas of pure

and see that the workmen of India are provided with a representative

conduct, and of high intelligence—well-read in the Vedas ; **eight Kshatriyas** possessed of great strength of body and capable of wielding weapons ; **twenty-one Vaisyas** who should have acquired great wealth ; and **three Sudras**, who should be humble, of pure conduct and devoted to their duties, and **one** member of the **Suta** community, well-read in the Puranas and possessed of the eight cardinal virtues. The Ministers should all be of the age of fifty years, possessed of intelligence, and well-read in the scriptures, skilled in arriving at decisions amidst conflict of contending parties, and humble, and not liable to deviate from the path of impartiality, wanting in greed and free from vices like gambling, &c. Out of these thirty-seven, a Committee of Eight should be formed to specially assist the Sovereign in framing Rules and Regulations, which should be then proclaimed through the realm and communicated to the King's subjects. [Santi Parva, chap., 85, verses 7 to 12].

In the same chapter, verses 30-31, are declared also the general characteristics of an approved *Amātya* or Minister. Thus, it is there laid down that among the qualifications of such an *Amātya* (Minister) are that he should possess a true insight into the Dharma Sastras ; that he should be capable of understanding thoroughly the intricacies of Peace and War ; that he should be capable also of jealously guarding State secrets ; and that he should be well-born, possessed of intelligence, modesty, and dignity of soul.

From the above, one remarkable fact stands out, namely, that although in the ancient scriptures, as well as in the Mahabharata, the Brahmanical class is described as the law-making community, yet in the actual enforcement or administration of the Code, they were in a minority of four to thirty-seven, while the representatives of trade, commerce, agriculture, the crafts, and labour generally,—comprehended under the more general designation of *Vaisyas* and *Sudras*,—formed a majority of twenty-four to thirteen. It must be remembered also that the enforcement of the Law or the Code involved no small amount of constructive legislation. For, in many matters the Brahmanical Code could only lay down general principles, the work of the formulation of Rules and Regulations for purposes of administration having had to be delegated, as in much of the present-day legislation, to the Executive Body, the Council or the Committee. Thus, the settlement of all details of taxation, the imposition of fresh taxes in cases of emergency, and the collection of the public revenue, all fell under the province of the representative body of *Amātyas* (Ministers). Further, on all questions of war, peace and defence of the country, the Code could not possibly make any extensive provision except in a general way, and there could be no doubt, that a considerable margin of discretionary power was left to the Council or the Committee. The King was surrounded by the most able representatives of all castes and communities of the kingdom, who were well acquainted with their wants and aspirations ; by men who represented the best intelligence, ability and culture of the realm, and who also by reason of their high character enjoyed the confidence of the whole population. Thus, the people enjoyed a measure of popular representation and power in conducting the affairs of the central Government in this land of castes and communities, which should make clear that **communalism was not found to be inconsistent with the idea of some measure of popular representation in the government of the country.**

We desire to explain further that, as pointed out in the other verses of chapter 85 of the Santi Parva, the representative Council of Ministers was also associated

on the Secretary of State's Council²⁰ in Whitehall, not some more Government nominee, but one capable of voicing the interests of a great and important body, whose ancestors erected the great fabric of Hindu Civilisation.

with the Sovereign in the dispensation of Justice in respect of those causes which were specially taken up by himself for decision. It is one remarkable feature of Hindu Polity that the Sovereign should personally take part in dispensing Justice to those who sought it from his august hands ; and the King sat in his Court almost every day for the hearing of causes, assisted by his Council of *Amātyas*. This system of the Sovereign dispensing personal justice to suitors was wholly distinct from the regular administration of justice throughout the realm through the machinery of the village communities and the guilds. In ancient India, the action of decentralised institutions was paramount, and, therefore, when we speak of the King administering justice with the assistance of his Council, it must not be presumed that the machinery corresponded in any sense to that of a modern Privy Council to which the highest causes were sent up in appeal, after they had formed the subject of adjudication by the subordinate courts of the land. The Hindu King presiding over his Privy Council of *Amātyas* and dispensing justice was exercising a personal prerogative ; and from this point of view, the personal dispensation of justice by the Sovereign and his exercise of power as the supreme executive authority in the Realm—all fell under one common category, namely, as appertaining to the duties of the Hindu Sovereign, who, in respect of every matter in which he had to take a direct part, was associated with his representative Council of Ministers.

We have been speaking of the working of the principle of popular representation in ancient India in the *affairs of the Central Government*. We have already hinted, however, that the machinery of decentralised institutions in the shape of village communities and guilds was in ceaseless operation in respect of many vital matters connected with the *daily life* of the general body of the population. We have no space here to enter more largely into this question of the institution of popular representation in matters of *local self-government* in the ancient Hindu polity ; but we desire to note that such representation was a fact and that there is an ample body of evidence to substantiate the position. That learned scholar, Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, LL.D., PH.D., in his *Early History of the Deccan* (printed at the Government Central Press, Bombay, 1884) makes some reference to this aspect of the matter :—“There were in those days guilds of trades, such as those of weavers, druggists, corn-dealers, oil-manufacturers, &c. Their organisation seems to have been complete and effective, since as already mentioned, they received permanent deposits of money and paid interest on them for generation to generation. **Self-government by means of such guilds and village communities has always formed an important factor in the political administration of the country.**” (*Ibid.*, p. 34)

—EDITOR, DAWN.

20. Mr. Arthur J. Penty in his “The Restoration of the Guild System”, a most valuable book to which we have already made reference at the end of footnote¹⁷ (p. 126), discusses this question of the political representation of *guilds* as guilds (after they have been restored or revived in England) as part of the English legislative machinery. He observes,—“As to the form which the Government of the future will take, it is not improbable that the division of function between the Upper and Lower Chambers will continue, with this difference that whereas the Lower Chamber would be elected by the people in their private capacity, the members of the Upper Chamber would be nominated by the (restored) guilds” (*Ibid.* p. 70).—EDITOR, DAWN

Question : How can Indian Students increase their Love of Country ?

Answer : They could do so by—

- i. Increasing the knowledge of India and of Indian Civilisation, esp. Hindu and Islamic ;
- ii. Working together for something useful to their district, town or village ;
- iii. Supporting indigenous industries and enterprises, even at a sacrifice ;
- iv. Supporting Indian Educational and Allied Movements which aim primarily at fostering the unselfish instincts and developing the constructive faculties of the Indian mind.

THE DAWN — AND — DAWN SOCIETY'S MAGAZINE

एकस्तपेण स्वस्थितो योऽर्थः स परमार्थः ।

That which is ever-permanent in one mode of Being is the TRUTH. --Sankara

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PART I: INDIANA

THE INDIAN PROBLEM IN RELATION TO INDIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE—Second Part

By MAJOR J. B. KEITH

FORMERLY OF THE INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY

[Continued from pp. 89—130 of the April-May, 1913 issue]

IX

(A)

In gauging the prosperity of India, or rather the comparative prosperity on which the welfare of Indian workmen depends, I think it right to point out that a wrong basis of comparison has been instituted by Material Prosperity Reports. No sane man will dispute that we have enormously ameliorated the condition of the Hindus since the country lay bleeding under a decaying Moghul Empire, or was the victim of organised plunder by the Mahrattas. In the opinion of all competent officers, including those of the East India Company, with whom I have conversed, India is vastly improved. The difference between our rule and that of native alien rule, the most unpopular of all, has been immense. I have lived both in British and Native India for years, and observed the difference. Both justice and wages were in arrears ; dacoity, a sure sign of scarcity, was rampant ; the population was sparse and badly fed ; artisans had no work, and were starving ; Brahman idlers crowded round every village ; and the country was subject to oppressive transit duties. In addition to this, the revenue was systematically buried underneath the ground, and the noble monuments of a better native rule were neglected. All this I have seen changed like the transformation scene of a

panorama : the jungle converted into a garden, education stimulated, industries promoted, and a better feeling generated among all classes. I witnessed this before I left India in 1888. Since my departure, stately buildings, colleges, and schools have been erected, and reflect the lustre of the old architecture. In the light of this testimony, Government may be well justified in saying "that workmen are better fed, better clothed, and eat more salt than in a former decade."

But what I contend is that a wrong basis of comparison has been instituted. Why not look at historic India, and to a period prior to Mahomedan rule? I doubt whether, even with the aid of the Machine, the Indian Industry of to-day can be compared to the industry of that marvellous period of activity known as the tenth century A.D. Every one in those days contributed to it, for the spirit of offering, while a religious obligation, permeated the highest and the humblest classes. Irrigation was carried out in bunds, canals, and stately reservoirs, and at one time the mineral wealth of India was quite on a par with Phoenician, and wooden temples in the Deccan were covered with an entire sheet of copper ; these I have inspected. Iron was largely worked in Central India, Mysore and Orissa, while diamond and gold yielded a large revenue. A partial revival has taken place, but the efforts have been paralysed by home syndicates. I must confess to a misgiving as to whether the predictions of many people may be realised in connection with the mineral wealth of the future, coal and iron excepted.

Then, let it be remembered that the old Indian Trade to which the prophet Ezekiel refers, with its miles of caravans, was prosecuted after the wants of the people had been satisfied. So valuable was this Trade that Gibbon declares that one pound of silk was equal to one pound of gold. Roman Emperors had to resort to Imperial edicts to proscribe Roman luxury, and Roman satirists complained of the vast sums withdrawn from the Empire. It was this external "Indian Trade", the result of India's excellent fiscal system in ancient times, which gave birth to the phrase "The Wealth of Ormuz and of Ind," out of which were erected the great cities of Baalbeck and Palmyra in the desert. Of the many satrapies of Darius, India was the only one which could afford to pay her tribute in gold to him.²¹

21. India was known as Darius's twentieth satrapy which, writes Mr. Vincent Smith, "was considered the richest and most populous province of the Empire." "It paid," continues the same writer, "the enormous tribute of 360 Euboic talents of gold dust or 185 hundredweights worth fully a million sterling and constituting about one-third of the total bullion revenue of the Asiatic provinces of Darius." (Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*, 2nd. edn., p. 34). The time to which the above refers was the fifth century before the Christian era. Coming down to later times, to the first and second centuries A.D., we read of gold

India's prosperity in those far off times was indeed *very great*, and amply borne out by the existence of great and popular cities and by

coins and a gold currency in India, as evident sign of India's prosperity under her own system of trade and industry, which ought to set all educated Indians a-thinking as to the true character and methods of India's own institutions and her system of economics of which such prosperity was the outcome. Says Mr. Vincent Smith:—"In the first century A.D., when Roman gold of the early Roman Emperors began to pour into India in payment for the silks, spices, gems, and dye-stuffs of the East, Kadphises II (the Kushan King of Northern India) perceived the advantage of a gold currency and struck an abundant issue of orientalised *aurei* (the Roman gold coin), agreeing in weight with their prototypes and not much inferior in purity." (*Ibid.*, p. 238). The above has special reference to the state of things in Northern India about the first and second centuries of the Christian era. Again, says the same authority with reference to the same period of Indian history,—"In Southern India, the Roman *aureus* circulated as freely as the English sovereign now passes on the continent of Europe, and Roman bronze small change partly imported and partly minted at Madura, was coming in the bazaar." (*Ibid.*, p. 400). In the Deccan also we note that in the first and second centuries of the Christian era, trade and commerce was also in a flourishing condition. Thus, in his *Early History of the Deccan* (p. 34) the great orientalist, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., writes:—"Persons engaged in trade and commerce seem to have acquired large fortunes. There were in those days guilds of trade such as those of weavers, druggists, corn-dealers, oil-manufacturers, etc. Their organisation seems to have been complete and effective, since as already mentioned, *they received permanent deposits of money and paid interest on them from generation to generation*." We have glimpses also of the great manufacturing and commercial prosperity of the great Indian towns in the records of the *Travels* of the Chinese pilgrims, Fa-Hian (5th century A.D.) and Hiuen-Tsang (7th century A.D.). We note also the strength of the *Indian System* in the continued maintenance of commercial and manufacturing prosperity in the later and mediæval times, notwithstanding the great and enormous political convulsions through which the country had to pass. Great Indian cities, called *polytechnical cities* by Sir George Birdwood, in his monumental work, *The Industrial Arts of India* (vol. I., Chapman and Hall, London, 1880; pp. 137-140) had "sprung up round the centres of Government and of the foreign commerce of the country" and were in the hands of the great trading and industrial organisations technically known as *merchant guilds* who were the controllers of the wealth of mighty cities and once of the markets of the world. Observes Sir George Birdwood: "The trade guilds of the great polytechnical cities of India are not always coincident with the sectarian or ethnical caste of a particular class of artisans. Sometimes the same trade is pursued by men of different castes and its guild generally includes every member of the trade without strict reference to caste. Each separate guild is managed by a court of aldermen or *mahajans* (lit. "great gentlemen"). Nominally it is composed of all the freemen of the caste, but a special position is allowed to the *Seths*, lords or chiefs of the guild who hold their position by hereditary right.....The *Nagar-Seth* or City-Lord, of Ahmedabad is the titular head of all the guilds and is the highest personage in the city and is treated as its representative by the Government. In ordinary times he does not interfere in the internal affairs of the guilds, their management being left to the chief alderman of each separate guild, called the *Chautano Seth*, or Lord of the Market."—EDITOR, DAWN.

the lithic record. Let it be remembered, moreover, that these monuments were not the outcome of royal munificence, but the thrift of the communities. For a basis of comparison with the present, Central India is useful, because unlike British territory, it has preserved the monumental record, and this through the configuration of the ground, which enabled it to resist Mahomedan iconoclasm in part. Prone to exaggeration as the Hindu bards are, they have not exaggerated the prosperity of the Hindus during this period. It is written on the well-nurtured, happy and contented faces of Hindus seen on the Sanchi and Bharhut monuments, B. C. 500—200. We see it in the remains of enormous cities, whose walls were twenty miles in circumference ; in religious capitals during the mediæval period, like Khajraha, which boasted of sixty costly temples, the work of one decade. Ferishta says that when Mahmud approached Kanauj in A. D., 1016, "he there saw a city which raised its head to the skies, and which in strength and structure might justly boast to have no equal." The lithic record of those days was only compatible with an enormous population. Speaking of the temple of Nagarcot on the Himalayas, which Mahmud sacked, the author I have just quoted declares it to have contained a greater quantity of gold and silver than was ever collected in the treasury of a royal prince on earth. Mahmud took possession of 700,000 gold dinars, 700 maunds of gold and silver plate, 200 maunds of pure gold and ingots, 2,000 maunds of unwrought silver, and 20 maunds of various jewels. Similar details are given by Sir A. Cunningham regarding the wealth of Mathura, and Elphinstone declares that the offerings of Somnath were estimated at £100,000 sterling. Colonel Tod adds that the splendour of Native Indian Courts was unprecedented.

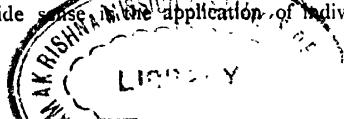
(B)

To overlook India's prosperity in the period prior to Mahomedan rule as the part outcome of India's political economy or the wisdom of its interior institutions would be a grave error. As already stated great wealth has been evolved and is daily increasing under the British régime ; but my contention has throughout been that *comparatively* little of it goes into the hand of the producer, be he agricultural or artisan. "Free trade has poured money," to repeat myself, "into the coffers of the Bania, who is the Indian middleman, but it has not added to the comfort of either artisan or agriculturist." To many the nostrums of the Liberal party exercise an unusual fascination, for, as they apply to India, they have never been properly studied, and in a deeply conservative country like India, our radical reforms and precipitancy are attended with great danger. INDIA IS A COUNTRY WHERE NATURE

AND THE GENIUS OF THE HINDUS ADAPT THEMSELVES TO ART AND CRAFT-LABOUR²² in the same way as the genius of the American

22. It is necessary to explain that the régime of *machine* production does not correspond to a superior stage of evolution in the life of a community, but distinctly marks an inferior level of communal life. The modern age which prides itself on its large-scale production of wealth by the aid of Machinery and Finance must, on a proper and adequate consideration of the phenomena of machine production, be pronounced to be distinctly inferior to an age when the worker worked for the production of art products, and the consumer delighted in the possession of such products. This proposition may seem somewhat heterodox, but it is nevertheless true. The need for giving some thought to this aspect of the matter when India is being sought to be hustled, both by our legislators and the western-educated public generally, to enter on the arena of a commercialised industry to the detriment, neglect and even suppression, of higher forms of indigenous industrial life which have hitherto struggled on to preserve the *individuality* of both the community of producers, and the community of consumers,—the need for entering on a discussion of this aspect of the matter with the champions of a *one-sided Commercial Individualism* (one-sided because of its seeking to suppress the individuality of the producer and the consumer)—seems to be apparent. *The relative claims, from the Social Point of View, of Machine Labour and Art or Craft Labour* require to be inquired into and properly weighed by the controlling authorities, before they should feel justified in accelerating by all the powers of legislation and administration which are vested in their hands, the progress of that scheme of Industrial Life which Western Europe has adopted and which is beginning to be found to be a great disintegrating and unsettling force. The Age of Machine Production and the Age of Art and Craft Labour are differentiated one from the other by great and vital differences; and it is supremely needful that nothing should be done in the way of facilitating the rise of the Machine Age in India, unless a clear and unhesitating conviction has been arrived at with regard to the claims of the system of Commercialised Production,—for that is what it is—and its adaptability to the needs, wants and circumstances of India.

And, first of all, in order to understand things properly, vagueness in our conceptions about the *machine-product* and the *art-product*,—about *machine* and *art*, has to be dispelled. As pointed out by that distinguished thinker and economist, Mr. John A. Hobson, M.A., in his *Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, a work which should be in the hands of every student of economics—"the 'art' in machine-work has been exhausted in the single supreme effort of planning the machine; the more perfect the machine, the smaller the proportion of individual skill or art embodied in the machine product. A machine is in the nature of its work largely independent of individual control of the worker, because it is in its construction the expression of the individual control and skill of the inventor. Some of the directing or mental effort, skill, art, thought must be taken over, that is to say, some of the processes must be guided *not directly by man*, but by other (mechanical) processes which are relatively fixed,—in order to constitute a machine. The growth of machine industry may be measured by a shrinkage of the dependence of the product upon the skill and volition of the human being who tends or co-operates with the machine. Whereas art is the true antithesis of machinery; for the essence of art in this wide sense is the application of individual



dovetails in with the incarnate machine, which is utterly unable to supply an art product with the love and devotion that formerly, in days of old, inspired the creations of art and communicated to them a soul. The modern factory, however excellent and requisite for utilitarian and indispensable industries, cannot give the excellence to art, or give the same moral aspiration as of old. All the loom power in existence aided by the most perfect machinery can never reproduce a *Chanderi* or *Arni* muslin. These 'webs of woven wind', as the poetic oriental called them, are delights of the past, and what are schools of design, a most expensive auxiliary, cannot impart to them the beauty and individuality of a past day; the most they can do is to reproduce some stereotyped and lifeless machine-copy. The machine cannot turn out real artistic products, such as wood and stone-carving, or works of beauty in iron, copper, brass or silver ware, in fact the machine ought

spontaneous effort. Each art-product is the repository of individual thought, feeling, effort; each machine product is not. Perfection of routine work is the special faculty of machine production. Machine products are exactly similar to one another."

Following upon the above clear differentiation of the functions of machine-labour and craft or art-labour, may be given Mr. Hobson's observations on the causes or circumstances affecting the relative development of machine production and of craft or art production in a given community of consumers: Thus—"in so far as individuals apply their growing ability to consume, in order to demand increased quantities of the same articles—i.e., machine-goods of the same pattern—they consumed before; or flash variety of fashionable goods in no wise adjusted to their individual need or taste, they extend the dominion of machinery. In so far, however, as they develop individual taste, delicacy, rather than quantity of satisfaction, they give wider scope to work which embodies conscious human skill and deserves the name of art. High skill in manipulation or treatment of material, the element of art infused into handicraft, gives the latter an advantage over the most skilful machinery, or over such machinery as can economically be brought into competition with it. In some of the metal trades, in pottery and glass-making, there are many processes which have not been able to dispense with human skill. On the other hand, the progressive utilisation of machinery depends upon the continuance of an indiscriminate consumption—i.e., on the willingness of consumers to employ every increase of income in demanding larger and larger quantity of goods of exactly the same pattern and character. So long as consumers consent to sink their individuality to consume articles of precisely the same shape, size, colour, material,—to assimilate their consumption to one another,—machinery will supply them. As the dominance of machinery over the worker tends to the destruction of individuality in the work (and the workers), obliging different workers to do the same work in the same way, with a premium upon the mere capacity of rapid repetition,—in the same way it tends to crush the individuality of consumers by imposing a common character upon their consumption. The spirit of machinery, its vast rapid power of multiplying quantities of material goods of the same pattern has so overawed the industrial world that the craze for quantitative consumption has seized possession of many whose taste and education might have enabled them to offer resistance. But once suppose that

to be reserved for what is strictly utilitarian. It has been found possible to keep some hand industries, such as wood, stone, and ivory carving, as well as seal engraving, outside the factory; and if Hindu Princes and men in position would unite, there might still be a market for the productions of the hand. But I am afraid that the hint is in many cases thrown away, and it is perhaps futile to expect Viceroys or Governors and Lieutenant-governors, any more than Indian Princes, to give assistance in the matter by making their palaces or houses typical of the arts of the neighbourhood. M. Le Play, the great French economist, has pointed out the benefit of the *hereditary* principle to industry and art; and it is the sapping of this principle together with the absorption of the industrial arts into our factory system that has been their veritable [and irreparable] destruction. In India's industrial

consumers refuse to conform to a common standard, and insist more and more upon a consumption adjusted to their *individual* needs and tastes, and likewise strive to follow and to satisfy the changing phases of their individual taste, such individuality in consumption must impose a corresponding individuality in production, **and machinery will be dethroned from industry.** Let us take the example of the clothing trade. Provided the wearing public will consent to wear clothes conforming to certain *common* patterns and shapes which are only approximate "fits", machinery can be used to make these clothes; but if every person required his own taste to be consulted, and insisted upon an exactitude of fit and a conformity to his own special ideas of comfort, the work would no longer be done by machinery, and would require the skill of an "artist." **It is precisely upon this issue that the conflict of machine versus hand labour is still fought out.** The most highly finished article in the clothing and boot trades are still hand-made; the best golf-clubs, fishing-rods, cricket bats, embody a large amount of high manual skill, though articles of fair average make are turned out chiefly by machinery in large quantities. These hand-made goods are produced for a small portion of the consuming public, whose education and refinement of taste induce them to prefer spending their money upon a smaller quantity of commodities adjusted in character to their individual needs, than upon a larger quantity of common commodities."

The above view relative to the need, in any sound system of industrial production, for the maintenance and development of the *individuality of the producer as well as of the consumer*, and thus subordinating the *individualism* of the Financier, [—which is an irresponsible, disintegrating force, being concerned only with the making of profits regardless of all consequences]—to the higher interests of the Community, also finds expression in the chapter on *The Education of the Consumer* in Mr. C. R. Ashbee's "An Endeavour Towards the Teaching of John Ruskin and William Morris" (1901). Thus we read,—"If then the *individuality of the producer* at one end is safeguarded, and the *individuality of the consumer* at the other taken into account, and these are both brought into contact, we have at least something produced that has in it what John Ruskin would have called intrinsic as distinguished from economic" (market, commercial) "value, something that makes for the wealth of the community. For, the purpose from the *consumer's point of view* is not the accumulation of **many inutilities**, but the possession of **a few good and useful**

education, there are many things to note, the first and primary one being that the steam factory is already killing those beautiful hand and art industries which were once the glory of India and a joy and contentment of every village. These renowned "art industrial fabrics" which constituted the chief items of export in days not long ago, are being destroyed or are falling under the dominion of the machine.

But TO BE INDIAN INDUSTRY, IT MUST FLOW IN NATURAL AND NATIONAL CHANNELS, and the operations of mechanical development are perplexing in a country like India where Nature and the Hindu Genius adapt themselves to hand or art industry. The Government of India must not persuade themselves that the national character can be very much altered by an exotic Western system. Many of the Indian Ryots put so little faith in the doctrine of Manchester *cheapness* that they continue to purchase handmade goods. The peasantry in all countries are the best judges and I have known the Swiss act in the spirit of these Ryots. Free trade has been greatly abused in things; of things that have a direct relation to man's own life, and by becoming his, help to shape both him and his surroundings. They prove him to be "a man of taste, that is to say, a man who buys with an understanding and deliberately expresses his individuality in each object of his choice; for however simple, however cheap, the object he becomes possessor of, he will esteem it less for the price he pays for it than for its relation to his own individuality" (*Ibid.* pp. 28, 27).

Mr. Hobson is of opinion that, in future, industrial evolution will take the form of a progressive development of art industry, accompanied by a restriction of the province of machinery to the satisfaction of certain "common", "primitive", "routine" wants of consumers; so that the question of *qualitative* consumption such as could only be provided for by craft and art labour will loom more and more largely in the economics of the future. Thus we read,—"the study of the qualitative development of consumption in modern society is only just beginning to be recognised as the true starting point of economic science, for although many of the older economists did verbal homage to this branch of study, it has been reserved for recent thinkers to set about the work. To future generations of highly evolved humanity the peculiar barbarism of the age will consist in the fact that the major part of its intelligence, enterprise, genius, has been devoted to the perfection of the arts of material production *through mechanical means*. But in proportion as consumers add a higher appreciation of those adaptations of matter which are due to human skill, and which we call Art; in proportion as a community comes to substitute a *qualitative* for a quantitative standard of consumption or living, it escapes the limitations imposed by matter upon man; in proportion, in fact, as we attain the art of living, we shall be free. The infinite variety which the forms of artistic expression may assume fraught with the *individuality* of the artist will prevent them from ever passing into "routine", "common", or machine industries."

With reference to the evils brought about by modern industrial methods which give the fullest play to the *individualism* of Capital and Finance in the race for large-scale production and large profits, while, at the same time, crushing out the *individuality* of Labour and the Community,—of the workman and

India and has not added to the prosperity of the Indian craftsmen. It has multiplied production on a large scale and has helped to swell the export trade; it has encouraged for years a system of carrying coals to Newcastle, thus depleting the Indian workshop of millions for textiles, metals, oils, and dyes,—all indigenous products of the country. But it is a matter of regret that it has not done *more* to raise the material welfare of the masses, or give increased employment. The Banias whose encroachments are doubly felt by the Indian indigenous workshop—not the workmen—are the class whom British Rule has propitiated. Call it what you will, it was not fair trade which induced us to shut out Indian manufactures from England by the imposition of a duty, and which took off the Indian duty for the benefit of Manchester. In huge tomes we published and paraded, for the benefit of Manchester, books of ornamental patterns, and jubilant English newspapers proclaimed a market to England of 250 millions of people. We filched, as it were, their trade-secrets.²³ Was this equity? Sir Purdon Clarke, Art Director at South Kensington, tried to do good service to Indian art in securing a fine collection from England at South Kensington; but it has done not a little towards the reproduction of Indian art in England, which is not a gain to India.²³ For the effect of London museums has been to facilitate the reproduction of a debased native art in England,²³ and to such an extent that much of

the consumer, by imposing upon both a uniform quantitative standard, in respect of production and consumption,—Mr Hobson's view is, as could be gathered from the preceding exposition,—that a remedy must be found, *firstly*, in a revised social estimate of machine-products, or in other words, in the education of whole body of consumers in the art of consumption; and *secondly*, in an adequate social control over machine production. Thus we read, “So far as these (economic and industrial) evils are in form or in magnitude the peculiar products of these last two centuries, they are in a large measure traceable to methods of production controlled by machinery; and to the **social estimate of machine products, which gives machinery this controlling power.** If this is so, such progress as shall abate these evils and secure for humanity the use of machinery without the abuses will be in two directions, each of which deserves consideration: (1) an *adequate social control* over machine production; (2) an *education in the art of consumption* such as may assign proper limits to the *sphere* of machine production.”—EDITOR, DAWN.

[N.B. The extracts given above are from Mr. J. A. Hobson's valuable work on “The Evolution of Modern Capitalism: A Study of Machine Production”: in the *Contemporary Science Series*, London, Walter Scott, Ltd., 1894: *Vide*, in order, pp. 368, 47, 49, 369, 373, 70, 366, 375, 376, 3⁸, 355.—EDITOR.]

23. This “filching of trade-secrets”, this “stealing of designs”, as Mr. Ashbee would call it, with a view to the reproduction of “a debased native art in England” for purposes of export to India, this trade in cheap imitations of genuine Indian designs—all this is explicable on the basis of a system of Trade known as Free Trade and Commercialism—which seeks its justification in the total volume of its

the Benares ware now found in India can be traced to Birmingham. The feature of Indian life has been 'village (hereditary) art industries in the village community'; but the premature introduction of Free Trade, stimulated by railways, has tended to extirpate such industry; for, as a set-off to the benefits railways confer, they symbolise a rate of progress which is comparatively innocuous on English and American workmen, who change their callings frequently in a few years, while hurtful to the slower Indian workman. He cannot suddenly change

exports, irrespective of their quality, excellence or standard (as determined by the application of individual skill in the manipulation or treatment of material,—of the element of *art*);—which has gradually established itself throughout the world of consumers, by destroying the individual character of their tastes, while teaching them that quantity is of more value than quality, that the possession of a vast store of inferior goods of "precisely the same shape, size, colour, material", if offered at cheap rates is more desirable than the possession of a lesser quantity of superior goods offered to them at less cheap rates:—and which having thus effected a deterioration in their taste, having "crushed their individuality by imposing a common character upon their consumption",—parades before the world a theory of its moral justification which is that such Free Trade is all for the *benefit of the consumer*, because although the taste of the latter, his individuality, is destroyed or undermined and he is able to put up with, and even delight in the possession of, inferior goods of "exactly the same pattern and character", the articles are offered to him *cheaply*, and he could thus find his compensation, or even a sense of gratification, by purchasing such articles in larger and larger quantities, while the process would go also to swell the volume of the exports and the profits of the exporter, and of the Financier who is at the back of the Trade. (*Vide also Footnote 22, pp. 135-139.*)

As Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy puts it in his *The Indian Craftsman* (1909; pp. 64-65)—"Modern **Industrialism**, whether we call it *Laissez Faire* in Manchester, or the "Introduction of Free Western Institutions" into India, hesitates to interfere with a man's sacred individual liberty to make things as badly as he likes and to undermine the trade of his fellows on that basis—a basis of competition in cheapness, not in excellence. The "Protection" which is here advocated is the protection of Standard; this must be carried out in most cases not by the *taxation of imports*, but by the absolute *prohibition of the importation of any goods whose quality falls below the standard established*. For the State to merely tax and profit by the importation of the inferior goods—"Protection" as ordinarily understood, would be quite futile from the present point of view. Equally foolish would be the taxation of goods which for one reason or another can be better made in another country than one's own. Each country should excel in its own special productions and protect their standard ruthlessly."

Mr. C. R. Ashbee, M.A., F.R.I.B.A., in his *Craftsmanship in Competitive Industry* (1908) explains how this cheap imitation of genuine designs is able to drive out from the market the genuine design itself. Observes this authority:—"We are so accustomed to the comfortable theory that in competitive industry the good will prevail, that there is always a market for the best because there has usually been a margin of wealth in some section of the community to provide the market,—that we have never questioned this seeming truth. But it is not true, or rather it is a half truth, for its qualification lies in modern competitive conditions. There is a certain famous economic law known

his calling or his residence ; and the communal system as well as the system of hereditary callings are against his doing so. The destruction of an art centre like Mirzapur, and the substitution of Cawnpore, industrially organised on modern lines, implies an amount of suffering as Gresham's Law, by which the bad coin, if shot upon the market, drives out the good ; the same law prevails in many forms of Industry and in most of the Arts and Crafts. Unless protected in some way, the standard of certain productions tends under modern economic conditions to sink ; *the good does not necessarily prevail...The cheap uncontrolled product destroys the craft ; the absence of standard in the bad shop brings down the standard in the good.....It is the sweated shop, the cheap shop that is making the life of the good shop impossible.....What I deduce from it is the need for the protection of Standard.* It is not that I mind having my designs stolen ; I know I can always make fresh ones. What I object to is that under existing conditions, the thief should make it impossible for me to produce, or for the public to possess, good silver-work and jewellery any more : that any Jack distributor, with a little capital behind him, can get mechanical or underpaid imitations made of these,—that is what I object to ; and the public like an overfed child swallows good and bad work alike till it was glutted." (*Ibid.* pp. 93, 96, 98, 95).

It would appear from the above that the idea of Protection of Standard in Trade does not mean the abolition of all competition ; it only means the abolition of competition between producer and producer **on any other basis than that of quality, excellence or standard.** As Mr. Arthur J. Penty observes in his *The Restoration of the Guild System*—“**Competition** as it existed under the guild system, when hours and conditions and labour, prices, etc., were fixed, was **necessarily a matter of quality** ; for when no producer was allowed to compete on the lower plane of cheapness, competition took the form of a rivalry in respect to the greater usefulness or beauty of the things produced....The evil to be combated is not competition ; it is not necessarily an evil thing.....With the passing of control of industry from the hands of the craft-masters” (producers) “into those of the financier, and the abolition of the regulations of the guilds, the era of **commercial competition** was inaugurated, and what was formerly a healthy and stimulating factor became a dangerous and disintegrating reactionary force. For, **competition between financiers**” (commercial competition) “means a competition for cheapness to which, all other considerations” (e.g., Standard) “must be sacrificed. For the sake of clearness, therefore, we will define the terms competition and commercialism as follows.—**Commercialism**” [popularly, commercial competition] “means the control of industry by the financier” (as opposed to the producer), “while **competition**” [i.e., the producers' competition] “means the rivalry of producers.” (*Ibid.* p. 3). In this connection the following observations of Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P., are worth reproducing—“Industrial capital used to be owned by those who used it. The employer was the capitalist. One of the first results of the concentration of capital in industrial undertakings has been the supplanting of the individual and responsible capitalist by the official agent who represents many capitalists. The captain of industry is thus no more a man working with his own capital, but an agent working with other people's capital, and the capitalist himself is ceasing to be a businessman and is becoming a mere financier. (*Vide* pp. 47, 48 of Mr. J. R. Macdonald's *The Socialist Movement*, Home University Library Series, 1912)—EDITOR, DAWN.

which we cannot appreciate, but which would not be felt in a country like America. Formerly, towns like Brindaban and Benares were great centres of commerce, and, as we all know, religion and commerce have gone hand in hand there, as they did at Olympia and Delphi. Pilgrims flocked to them in great numbers, as they did to country markets on the Saints' Days of mediæval Europe. Rajas had their own houses there. I am far from denying that their destruction was inevitable ; but what I wish to postulate is that Indian industry should be flowing in *natural and national channels*,—and should not be saddled with a foreign economical system which is as little suited to the artistic genius of Indian workmen as to their national communal life and the hereditary modes of Indian industry. The Westerner rushes over Europe with a velocity which surprises all, seldom remaining any length of time in a particular place. The Hindu, on the contrary, adheres to old sites, old residences, and old cities in a manner which puzzles the European. The typical Westerner—and the American is the typical Westerner—believes that the more expeditiously a work is executed the better it will be, and his country has become the land of the incarnate machine. Mechanical development is in accordance with the law that keeps his mind and body in perpetual motion and a limited labour supply makes it a necessity : while the Indian climate and the Hindu national character have adapted themselves to hand or craft labour. In this, as in all other matters, the Hindu shows his deep-rooted attachment to the family spirit, which is at bottom the collective or the communal spirit,—and the Westerner, his individualism. So opposite is the flow or current of their respective civilisations that the one may be compared to the Niagara rapids, and the other to the waters of the Jumna. About the one there is the brilliancy of the meteor ; the other, *in its long vitality*, has something of the enduring lustre of the planet.

Protection, therefore, is written on every feature of Indian Civilisation ; and it is rendered doubly necessary seeing that the great masses — agriculturists and craftsmen—have no proper or direct political representation. *Hitherto*, India's internal institutions were sufficiently strong —in other words, her economic system was a wise adaptation to the Hindu's national character ; but Indian craftsmen who believe in English rule and justice, feel that we have not given them that protection which is their due. But with such protection granted to them, —suited alike to their national communal character and their artistic genius,—there is no reason why they should remain poor. Their simple lives expose them to no unusual expenditure ; they have no expensive dress, no expensive food, no extravagant furniture in their houses, and, outside marriage feasts which do not come to much, or the expenses incidental to death ceremonies, they have no outlay to

encounter, so that it becomes the veriest paradox on the part of officials at Simla and Whitehall to characterise their poverty as a natural one !

X

The time seems opportune for the Government undertaking an Industrial Survey. I shall assume that community life, or retention of the guild system, forms the basis of that Survey, adapted and modified of course to suit modern requirements. So little have the Hindus changed in thousands of years, that at this hour, with few and isolated exceptions, hereditary trade is the feature of Hindustan, and to them the advantages of this system are apparent. "It gives the father help at a cheap rate. It is the easiest introduction to life for the son, and the custom or reputation of the father as a craftsman is often the most important legacy he has to leave." The great French economist, M. Le Play, was absolutely right in declaring that the Family was the best vehicle,—and by Family is meant the Guild, for transmitting the art of a people. In proof of this the present writer has often alluded to Indian stone-carving and to the fact that the "Gwalior Gateway" prepared by himself was executed in part by boys from 12 to 14 years of age, members of the Guild which Sir Theodore Morison would destroy. Now I want to know whether this was due to Heredity or Environment, or whether the one is synonymous with the other.²⁴ To establish a distinc-

24. Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy in his *The Indian Craftsman* (chapter vi.) discusses this question of 'heredity or environment' with reference to the well-known phenomenon of the undoubted high skill in craftsmanship possessed by the indigenous 'hereditary craftsmen' of India. His observations are :—"I have spoken more than once of the 'hereditary craftsman', a phrase justified by the hereditary fixity of social function under the caste system. But it is worth while to consider the point in greater detail. It is often assumed that the skill of the 'hereditary craftsman' depends upon the direct inheritance of his father's individual skill. But this skill is an acquired character, and it is almost universally agreed by scientists that there is no such thing as the inheritance of an acquired character; a man who loses one leg does not have one-legged children; a man who learns to play well on the piano does not transmit that skill; nor can the craftsman transmit his acquired capacity for carving wood or chasing metal. On the other hand, of course, if it be supposed that large groups of craftsmen are descended from a common ancestor who originally possessed innate artistic genius (a different thing from actual skill in handicraft), it may be argued that this capacity is inherited, and this would be the case. Personally, I should be inclined to attach little value to the likelihood of the actual existence of such an ethnically superior race of craftsmen. One would think, indeed, that the absence of selection and elimination in a hereditary caste might lead rather to degradation than to a preservation of standard. As a matter of fact, all these considerations are of small weight beside the question of education and environment, conditions of supreme importance and implicit in the expression, hereditary craftsman, as ordinarily used." The reader is here requested to look up the whole of Footnote 12 (pp. 111 and 112 of this

tion seems to me to be arguing in a circle. Obviously, I cannot enter upon the question here, for it opens up a large controversy in which Herbert Spencer, Weismann, Galton, Ribot, Bain, and many others have taken part.²⁸ One remark, however, I must make. It is the hereditary principle (as well as the Hindu architectural monuments) that have helped to transmit much that was valuable in Indian industry and art. Among the very few pleasures I have had in life, one is that I have protested continuously against the destruction of Hindu *hereditary* art, whether in the lithic record, or in the traditions of the family, community,

article), where these conditions of education and environment as applicable in the case of the hereditary craftsmen of India are described at considerable length.—EDITOR, DAWN.

25. The following extract from a very recent work on "Heredity" by J. A. S. Watson, B. Sc., F.R.S.E., (1912) sums up the net results of the present state of biological knowledge on the subject of 'Heredity or Environment', in their bearing on the question of the transmission of what are called "acquired characters", i.e., characters which are acquired by the individual during the individual's life-time and which are not ultimately racial in origin. [In this connection we have to note that the term *modification* has been adopted to represent "variations" (or acquired characters) "induced by changes in the factors of the environment": *Vide* p. 34 of *The Evolution of Living Organisms* by Edwin S. Goodrich, M.A., F.R.S.: London, T. C. and E. C. Jack, 1912.]

"How difficult of solution this question is may be judged from the opposite conclusions of different biologists. Delage, an extremely acute and common-sense French writer, concludes that—"It is by no means proved that modifications acquired under the influence of conditions of life, are generally hereditary, but it seems fairly certain that they are sometimes so. This depends without doubt on their nature." Professor Arthur Thompson comes to the opposite conclusion; he says: "The question resolves itself into a matter of fact: have we any concrete evidence to warrant us in believing that different modifications are ever, as such or in any representative degree, transmitted? It appears to us that we have not. But to say dogmatically that such transmission is impossible, is unscientific." It seems to us that the latter attitude, the attitude which regards the case for the affirmative as *not proven*, is the most reasonable under the circumstances. It seems impossible to deny that this negative opinion is spreading and that the position of Delage is becoming less widely held; and if no strong concrete evidence is forthcoming in the near future, it appears to be probable that the negative position will become generally accepted. As before stated, the question is one of much practical importance. But even if modifications be not inherited, the Environment is still, for practical purposes, a matter of extreme significance. It is unnecessary to emphasise the great influence of Environment on man. Education in its wide sense is of well-nigh supreme importance both for the individual and for the State. And it should make us but more hopeful of the results of schemes of social reform, if we believe that the slum child is none the worse for the sordid conditions under which its parents have lived." (*Vide* p. 43, Watson's *Heredity*; T. C. & E. C. Jack, London and Edinburgh, 1912)—EDITOR, DAWN.

and guild ; and this with others, unhappily now no more, such as Mr. F. S. Growse, C.I.E., I.C.S., the Hindi Scholar. I have to confess with great regret that what is called the 'Law of Progress' ²⁶ has been destruc-

26. This "Law of Progress" has been a potent principle directing and controlling the individual conduct of civilised people of the West and also their State (legislative) activity during the whole, but specially the second and third quarters, of the nineteenth century. With the growth of the biological idea of Progress—namely, that all Progress proceeds by way of evolution and assimilation, and not by way of destruction, the glamour which had hitherto surrounded the doctrine embodied in the "Law of Progress" has faded considerably, but still the old idea of Progress—that it proceeded by way of destruction—has not been driven out of the field. Before biology had succeeded in making its influence felt among the sociological thinkers of the West,—the theory that you must destroy before you can construct,—was accepted almost implicitly and as a matter of course. It is only during recent years that we note a growing appreciation of the other view that the true principle of progress is through a process of development,—i.e., by the process which allows the organism to absorb or assimilate what it can, and reject or leave alone what it must. For, as Major Keith points out in a subsequent part of this essay,—"**When progress is no longer a work of natural evolution, it ceases to be progress.**" We may sum up by saying that social "Progress" which proceeds primarily by destruction is essentially inorganic and unstable ; while "Progress" effected through the working of the "Law of Assimilation and Rejection" is organic and stable.

If in the place of the doctrine of (inorganic) progress, the principle of (organic or evolutionary) progress had been sought to be applied by the statesmen who had the making of India in their hands during the last hundred years or so of her eventful history, there could be no doubt that the attempt by way of legislation to introduce and enforce Western ideals of Individualism in a country whose whole civilisation was formed on communal ideals of life would never have been made. The argument has throughout been that the West has been "progressing", because it has ordered its whole life on the ideal of *individualism* (not of communalism). India *must*, therefore, work out her progress along Western lines, and her whole communal system must sooner or later have to give way, if she should ever aspire to enter on the path of progressive advance. Thus,—"The indirect effect of English Government was, from the first, enormously to quicken the springs of social activity, **principally by breaking up that common life of families and communities by which they had been retarded.**" (Sir Henry Sumner Maine, K.C.S.I., LL.D., F.R.S., Law Member of the Government of India,—in an article in the *Fortnightly Review*, January, 1873; subsequently included in the volume on "Village Communities": John Murray, London, 1890; p. 300) And Sir H. S. Maine in his *Rede Lecture* for 1876 delivered before the University of Cambridge declares that the "**Principle of Progress**",—of movement onwards and not backwards, is *one of destruction tending to construction*. And he further declared,—"It is this principle of Progress which we Englishmen are communicating to India. There is no reason why if it has time to work it should not develop in India effects as wonderful as in any of the other societies of mankind. There is a double current of influences playing upon this remarkable dominion (India). One of these currents has its origin in the country beginning in the strong moral and political convictions of free people. The other arises in India itself, engendered among a dense and dark vegetation of primitive opinion, of prejudice, if you please, stubbornly rooted in the

tive to the hereditary arts of the Hindus. The modern world is so full
 debris of the Past.....Though it be virtually impossible to reconcile the great majority
 of the natives of India to the triumph of Western ideas, maxims, and practices, which
 is nevertheless inevitable, we may at all events say to the best and most intelligent
 of them that we do not innovate or *destroy* in mere arrogance. We rather change
 because we cannot help it. (Ibid., pp. 238, 239, 236, 237.)

An acceptance of the inorganic theory of Social Progress, (which works not by evolution but by destruction) is naturally connected with the view that the Past is a hindrance and a snare. Thus, in an Address delivered in March, 1866 at the Annual Convocation of the University of Calcutta, we find Sir Henry Maine making the following observations :—“ They may be safely persuaded that their real affinities are with Europe and the Future, not with India and the Past. They would do well to acquiesce in it. On the educated native of India, the Past presses with too awful and terrible a power for it to be safe for him to play or palter with it. The clouds which overshadow his household, the doubts which beset his mind, the impotence of progressive advance which he struggles against, are all part of an inheritance of nearly unmixed evil which he has received from the Past. It is true that even with us too much of the sloughed skin of the Past hangs about us, and impedes and disorders our movements.” (Ibid., pp. 294, 291).

The inorganic theory of progress, however, concedes that while it must proceed by way of destruction and not by way of evolution—so far partaking of a revolutionary character,—the process of destruction should nevertheless be gradual, and not conducted with revolutionary abruptness. In chapter IX of vol. I of his *Asiatic Studies* (new edition, John Murray, 1899), we find the late Sir Alfred Lyall, K.C.B., D.C.L., G.C.I.E., formerly Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West (now United) Provinces, and a Member of the Secretary of State's Council for India, making the following observations :—“ The general tendencies of modern thought are towards doubt and negation ; the sum total of what we call civilisation is to such a society as that in India a *dissolving force* ; it is the cutting away of anchors instead of hauling them up, so that in the next emergency there are none to throw out. Conquest and civilisation together must sweep away the old civilisation and prejudices ; and unless some great enthusiasm rushes in to fill the vacancy thus created, we may find ourselves called to preside over some sort of spiritual interregnum.....It is hardly our interest to bring them down with a crash. We have ourselves to overcome the rather superficial contempt which a European naturally conceives for societies and habits of thoughts different from those within the range of his own ordinary experience ; and also to avoid *instilling too much of the destructive spirit* into the mind of young India.” (Ibid., pp. 322, 323).

The fundamental defect of all “progress” which is inorganic or non-evolutionary in its character is that it cannot be stable ; and further, that such “progress” may even be the precursor of the ultimate dissolution of the whole social organism. We have already noted that the inorganic theory of progress is a theory of an unrestrained application of the Individualistic principle in the affairs of society, and consequently, this inorganic Individualism does not promote *solidarity*, but is a disintegrating force which if not properly brought under control is bound ultimately to lead to social disruption. Thus, Monsieur C. H. Letourneau, General Secretary to the Anthropological Society of Paris and Professor in the School of Anthropology, in his well-known work on “**Property**”, after an exhaustive survey of facts, is able to securely establish the theorem that the communal system (which gives solidarity) requires not to be demo-

of what is termed 'Progress and Reform' that it would like to uprooted, but only that it should be so controlled that "it may not impose too many fetters on the individual"; and further, he is able to demonstrate that the destruction of the communal system by the inroads of individualism has been the prime cause of the decadence and death of all the vanished civilisations. (*Ibid.*, p. 381). Thus we read:—"This is the general formula of the evolution of property. *The communal system is destroyed by the individualistic instinct*; then the great eat up the small; whence languor, sickness and death of the social body. It has been thus with the nations which have run through all the phases of their historic existence....The long investigation carried out in the preceding chapters proves abundantly that societies, even if not very intelligent, advance in strength and in number, so long as they accept a system of *solidarity*, that they languish and decline through excess of *individualism*. The contemporary world is suffering from an excess of individualism; it must return to a system of greater *solidarity*....The Roman world perished through large properties, slavery and colonage: will ours succumb to the wage-system? The barbarians did not destroy Rome; they only dismembered its corpse. The division of soil into large properties, monopolised by an egoistic minority, the replacement of independent citizens by slaves and servile *coloni*, had previously dried up the source of Roman vitality. Now in our modern States, a social retrogression of the same kind is at work; it differs only in method; at bottom it is almost identical. Among all contemporary nations civilised in the European way, an ever-increasing number of individuals have no right whatever to the native soil except that of walking on the public roads. If nothing happens to amend this state of things, or at all events, to impede its progress, it is very possible that European civilisation will have the lamentable end of all those civilisations that have preceded it. There seems to be a moral contradiction between the forward march of civilisations and the gradual metamorphosis of the right of property, since this right begins in collectivism" (communal solidarity) "and tends towards individualism. A more enlightened humanity, having at last succeeded in creating sociological science may, we would believe, avoid the rock whereon Athens and Rome were shipwrecked. It will be understood that the war of each against all and all against each cannot be a sufficiently solid social foundation. The debate or rather conflict has already begun; the new world is striving against the old. What would be the issue of the conflict? I am amongst those who have faith in the future." (Vide, in order, pages 371, 377, 380, 375, 378, and also the Preface, of Mons. Letourneau's "*Property: Its Origin and Development*," in the Contemporary Science Series; London, Walter Scott, Ltd., 1892).

The world of India has a peculiar interest in the development of this conflict to which Mons. Letourneau refers; for her whole civilisation has been attacked under the inspiration of a so-called "Law of Progress" which works not by evolution, but by destruction under the guidance of an inorganic and therefore disintegrating individualism. Now is the time to recognise and establish the fact that individualism which is wholly unrestrained by, and is *not organically connected with, communalism*, works only for the ultimate destruction of society, never for its permanence or stability:—and that further, **man has the communal as well as the individualist personality**, so that when Kant proclaimed the theory that every man should be regarded as an end in himself and not as a means to another man's end,—a theory the wide acceptance of which has led necessarily to the disengagement of the individual from the group or community,—he preached only a half-truth, because the other part of the truth is that **the individual must never be regarded except as**

the Family and everything on which the foundations of Society forming an organic part of the community. The treatment to which India and her institutions and indeed the whole of her civilisation have been subjected during the entire range of the nineteenth century and onwards, is primarily based on this false, delusive and mischievous conception of a one-sided individualism which ignores or affects to ignore the primary sociological factor that the community (which includes the individual) is an organic unity. In the West, the individualism of the nineteenth century was in truth a reaction from feudalism; in India no such feudalism existed, and the wholesale importation of an ideal, which arose in the West under the stress of special historical conditions and circumstances which followed in the wake of the dissolution of the Roman Empire, might have been wisely avoided, but the so-called "Law of Progress", inherently destructive because inorganic, stood in the way, and much of the difficulty and complexity of some of the more urgent problems of modern India may be traced to this misapplication of the Western formula of Individualism, to India, whose communal system was a genuine product of the Soil, and not the outcome, as in Europe, of a scheme of feudal life forming part of a gigantic military régime. For, indeed, as pointed out by Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald in his "*Socialist Movement*" : "The individualism of the nineteenth century was only a reaction from feudalism." (*Ibid.*, p. 27). And again—"The last century in England is known as the century of individualism, because during its two middle quarters in particular, the pendulum swung far towards the extreme of individual liberty of the atomic or mechanical kind. *The community as an organic unity, as the medium through which individual liberty has to be expressed, became a shadow.* The oscillation passed from the hampering organisation of feudalism to the desolating anarchy of *laissez-faire*." (*Ibid.*, p. 26).

While the statements and propositions given in the preceding paragraphs remain true, the fact must be admitted that of late years, the Government of this country, while not wholly prepared to abjure their hitherto accepted theory of "Progress" which works by destruction (not evolution)—have been apparently feeling that the destructive effects in India of that *Individualism* upon which their theory of Progress is founded, have been giving rise to a state of things not easily brought under control : that the disintegration of the old communal civilisation of India (which, however, has many points to give to the newer individualistic civilisation of the West) is fraught with political and other dangers : and that, consequently, a new policy should have to be inaugurated which would not be, like its predecessor, a "dissolving force", to use Sir Alfred Lyall's phrase, but which, on the contrary, would unite the two civilisations into a new Unity. The principles of this new form of Unity (—whether it should proceed by the way of evolution—or in a haphazard sort of way, which may be eclectic or merely mechanical)—do not yet seem to have been quite comprehended. On the one hand, there is a clear determination that the current of Progress which originated under the old inspiration of the Nineteenth Century Individualism, must not be and cannot be wholly checked by a new policy ; on the other, there is a clear apprehension that the Government of the country must after all make up its mind to inaugurate a new era which should be an era partly of conservation,—conservation, that is, of the old indigenous ideals, which for the last hundred years or so have felt the full force of the destructive violence of the Nineteenth Century Individualism. An inkling of the altered policy was first given to the Indian World by His Majesty the King-Emperor, when in the course of His Reply to the Calcutta University

depend.²⁷ Dr. James Geikie's work, "Fragments of Earth Lore" is a

Deputation who waited upon His Imperial Majesty on the 6th of January, 1912, His Majesty declared that the key-note of the future policy and of Higher Education in the country would be (1) "a cordial union and fusion of the culture and aspiration of India on which the future welfare of India so greatly depends," and (2) to "conserve the ancient learning and simultaneously push forward Western Science." Then, we find that in July, 1912 in the course of his Budget Speech in the House of Commons, the Hon'ble E. S. Montagu, the present Under-Secretary of State for India followed up the lead given by His Imperial Majesty at Calcutta, by declaring that the future of India would be determined by a policy of co-operation between the East and the West. Thus: "East and West are meeting not with clash or discord, but in harmony and amity. The forces are not mutually destructive, they are mutually complementary. Each has learnt much and has to learn much from the religion, the art, and the philosophy of the other. In India, East and West together, uniting and co-operating, are building up, let us hope, successfully, a lasting temple on their **joint ideals**." It does appear that this represents a distinct departure from the time-honoured policy of attempting to bring about a thorough-going assimilation of the conquered by the conquering race by imposing upon the former wholesale the ideals of the latter as being in consonance with that "Law of Progress" which has built up the fabric of Western civilisation. The policy of undermining the old civilisation of India by swearing by this Nineteenth Century "Law of Progress" appears to have been weighed in the balance and found wanting, and a new policy,—that of building up the future of India on the basis of **joint ideals**, is being embarked upon. We must note, however, that the only safe road to such **joint progress** is that India would be along the lines of evolution, along lines of development, along lines of organic growth; and that British Indian Statesmanship would assuredly fail of its purpose if it mainly relied upon a policy of mechanical eclecticism in the proposed building up of India. We may not at our peril accept any other standard of "moving forward." No doubt, the Hon'ble E. S. Montagu laid down an indisputable proposition when he declared in his Budget Speech of last year that "If we are to do our duty by the enormous responsibility which we have undertaken we must **move forward**, however cautiously, accepting the results of our own acts and inspirations, keeping ourselves informed, as intimately as we possibly can, of the *modern and changing aspects of the problem* with which we are to deal." In other words, the future of India under British administration, while recognising and taking account of "the modern and the changing aspects", must nevertheless not proceed on lines of a complete severance of policy hitherto pursued. While agreeing generally with the principle laid down here, we must, however, explain that if it is once admitted and accepted, as Mr. Montagu admits and accepts, that the future of India should not be moulded by any theories of "destruction tending to construction", to quote Sir Henry Sumner Maine's words already given, British Statesmen are bound to put less and less store by the ideals of that Nineteenth Century Individualism which has hitherto furnished them their working principle, in their efforts to initiate a progressive policy for this country. And we beg to submit further that if a real "move forward" which should be stable, has to be made in India, you must definitely seek to find out the **natural lines of India's evolution**, and help her accordingly.—EDITOR, DAWN.

27. The definite bearing of the so-called "Law of Progress" on the subject of the Family, i.e., on the relations which should subsist between parents and their children,

powerful argument as to the necessity of studying ENVIRONMENT, which is about the last thing an Anglo-Indian would resort to, with his insular, and above all racial, prejudice. I have no hesitation in saying that half the fallacies we have met would never have been uttered, had more attention been paid to a study of geographical charts ; to the

and between the husband and the wife, will be understood by remembering, as we have shewn in Footnote 26 (pp. 145-146), that the "Law" exalts the principle of unrestrained Individualism above the principle of communal association, not even excepting that of the Family, which one would have expected should remain outside the onslaughts of Individualism. Consequently we find, as has been clearly brought out by Professor Charles H. Pearson in the chapter on "The Decay of the Family" of his great work, "National Life and Character",—that "the English husband can no longer compel his wife to return to him, or squander her estate, or deprive her of her children, or inflict on her the moderate correction of Dr. Marmaduke, Coghill approved of, or the restraint of her liberty which Blackstone expressly allows. On the other hand, he can more or less divest himself of all responsibility for her debts or misconduct, and in great part of this civilised world finds it reasonably easy to obtain a divorce. The result, good or bad, is to give man and woman immensely increased freedom of action, the power *to draw back from a contract that was once irrevocable, and that was one of the most noticeable conservative forces*, and the right to make a fresh start in life. It may be noted that where the State thus limits conjugal rights or parental authority, it gives as much to **individualism** as it takes from the head of the family. The one point seems evident that *individualism* is bound to gain as family obligations are weakened." (Ibid., pp. 266, 265, 267). And again, observes the same authority on the question of the loosening of the parental tie through the inroads of the Individualistic, upon the Family, principle :—"The child in an old society knew that his father had not cast him into the streets as a foundling, had not sold him as a slave or given him away, and had provided him with food, clothing and education *out of parental tenderness*. The child in a modern society knows that the parent has done little more for him than the *law and public opinion exact*, and draws the conclusion, often not unreasonably, that he has no great cause to be grateful . . . The instinct of parental love is so intimately associated with our nature that we cannot imagine that it will ever die out. Still it is conceivable that, as parents lose their proprietary and administrative rights over children, an increasing number will be inclined to shift all responsibility upon the State. We may imagine the State *crière*, and the State doctor, and the State school, supplemented it may be by State meals, and the child already drilled by the State, passing out from school into the State workshop. To whatsoever extent all this takes place it will increase the parents' freedom, will relieve the mother from the incessant watchfulness which a household now entails, and will let the father free to work less, or to choose more, congenial work." (Ibid., pp. 264, 267).

The above statement explains the tendencies and forces now brought to bear upon that most sacred of human institutions—the Family ; and it is clear that exaggerated estimates of the value or efficacy of the Individualistic principle dissociated from the communal, in securing social advance may be held to account for the developments that are in progress in modern civilised societies towards the steady undermining and the ultimate uprooting of that primary communal unit, the Family. The extreme logical limits to which the doctrine of an inorganic Individualism may be and

position occupied by India in the Old World ; to its climate at various times, to its valuable assortment of vegetable, animal, and mineral productions ; and if, further, we did not blind ourselves to the fact that the Indian ENVIRONMENT gave a special character to Indian psychology and educated it ; and if also we took account of the fact that the Hindus have been a singularly original people, never a copyist ; not merely capable of elevated thoughts, but who do everything in a manner different from the European, and who look at everything from

is being pushed in relation to the question we are discussing, will be understood by a reference to the following extracts from an essay by Cicely Hamilton on "Women in the Great State" in the volume of essays issued by Messrs. Harper and Brothers (London and New York, 1912), under the title of "The Great State."

" The entire question now at issue, not only between Woman and the State, but between Woman and Society in general, can be narrowed down to this : Has she, like the other half of the race, a primary, individual, and responsible existence ? Or, is she what may be called a secondary being—such value to the community as she possesses being derivative only and arising out of her family relations to other persons ? Is she, in short, a personality, or merely the reproductive faculty personified ? . . . So far—roughly speaking and allowing for a certain number of exceptions —she has counted in the world's history and progress in the secondary sense only ; as the personification of the reproductive faculty, as wife, as mistress, and as mother of sons. It remains to be seen whether she is able to establish and maintain a right to count as an actual personality, an individual and direct member of the social organism. That right, once established, would bring with it inevitably the further right to select her own manner of living as freely as a man does ; and to resent legislative or other attempts to induce her to support herself or serve the State in one particular fashion, legislative or other attempts to make the sacrifice of motherhood anything but a purely voluntary sacrifice." (Ibid., pp. 226-227). And again, on another page : " Once admit such a principle into the conduct of any State, however great,—the principle that women in general can deserve well of the social organism not directly as individuals, as workers and citizens, but only indirectly through their husbands and the children they bear them—and you reopen the door to all the abuses of the Past . . . The woman must be recognised as an individual with capacities apart from domesticity, love-making, and child-bearing ; with an existence independent of husband, lover, or son . . . Having recognised women as citizens and individuals—with a primary instead of secondary existence,—the State must insure, so far as it is humanly possible to insure, that marriage should not be made by women, and children brought into the world by them, because there is nothing else for women to do but make marriages and bear children." (Ibid., pp. 223-224, 222, 233-234).

No wonder that in view of the extreme tendencies thus exhibited, to extend to its furthest limits the individualistic principle,—namely, to the concerns of the Home and the Family, thus striking at the base of all Society, a National Movement under the "National Council of Public Morals (for Great and Greater Britain)" should have been started in England with the following pronouncement of His Majesty King George V as their motto, namely, that " the foundations of National glory are set in the homes of the people : They will remain unshaken while the family life of our race and nation is strong, simple and pure ". And in one of the various tracts issued by the Society we

a different standpoint or aspect, so that when the European psychologist refers to the human mind, "the same under every age and clime," he is thinking of the universal aspect, "not of the diversified" one, with which he has perhaps little acquaintance.

find the following eloquent exhortation to British Womanhood. "It is the mother who ought to be able to impress on the children and young people of the family the right idea of the *nobility of home and the dignity of family life*. *She herself should recognise, and should teach them, that the home is necessary as the unit of civilised society*: she should impress on them its dignity; and point them to the fact that the father and the mother are the earthly representatives of the Great Creator, they are the vicegerents of Him who created all the world out of nothing, and who rules it by the word of His power. To the father and mother He has confided the sacred task of handing on the torch of life, and He has left in their hands the formation of the Family, the prototype of the Kingdom of God . . . It is impossible to exaggerate the importance to the race of mothers themselves performing the really important, although apparently trivial, duties of the nursery, nor can one overstate the loss to all concerned when the mother refuses or neglects to discharge these primary duties." (Vide p. 34 of "Womanhood and Race-Regeneration" by Mary Scharlieb, M.D., M.S.: London, Cassel and Company, Ltd., 1912).

If the doctrine of a one-sided Individualism which takes no note of the primary sociological factor that the individual has the communal as well as the individualist personality—and not an absolute individualist existence, all other relationships and associations being regarded and treated as merely contractual,—if this false doctrine of an "anarchist", "atomic", individualism has led to much that is strange and fearful in the domain of thought and opinion and is partly reflected in legislative enactments which have weakened the hold of Family life upon Western civilised peoples—it is nothing to be wondered at that the methods of modern commercialised industrialism which are rooted in the very principles of such one-sided individualism should similarly have brought about a steady deterioration and decline of the Home and Family among an ever expanding area of the industrial populations of the civilised West. Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., the distinguished leader of the Independent Labour Party in the House of Commons, bears testimony to the fact that "**under Commercialism the Family has been steadily decaying**", and as an argument in favour of Socialism which he advocates as against Capitalism, he puts forward the plea that under the socialistic régime—"the system of family organisation will be far stronger than what can ever be experienced under Capitalism; that the Family will enjoy an influence which it could not acquire under Commercialism". (Vide pp. 187 and 118 of the *Socialist Movement*: London, Williams and Norgate, 1912). The truth of the proposition laid down above, that the régime of machine production necessarily brings about the decay of the Family spirit is borne out by the following considerations advanced by Mr. John Arthur Hobson, M.A., in the chapter on "Women in Modern Industry" in his well-known work on "The Evolution of Modern Capitalism" (2nd edn., 1894)—"When industry was chiefly confined to domestic handicrafts, the claims of home life constantly pressed in and tempered the domestic life. The direct economic tendency of machine industry is to take women and children away from home work and must be looked upon as a tendency antagonistic to civilisation. The exigencies of factory life are inconsistent with the position of a good mother, a good wife or the maker of a home."

XI

An Industrial Survey in India is far more important than a Temperance or an Opium Commission. We must never forget, as I have already pointed out, that we are alongside a race, the possessors of a living, not of a dead art and industry, whose roots lie deep in the system

The narrowing of the home into a place of hurried meals and sleep is on the whole the worst injury modern industry has inflicted on our lives, and it is difficult to see how it can be compensated by any increase of material products. Save in extreme circumstances, no increase of the family wage can balance those losses whose values stand upon a higher *qualitative level*" (*Ibid.*, p. 320). To be able to adequately weigh and estimate the forces that are being brought to bear upon the Home and Family Life under the modern régime of machine production, the following further extracts should be read with interest : "It seems evident that modern improvements in machinery under normal circumstances favour the employment of women rather than of men. There is some reason to suppose that machinery also favours employment of children as compared with adults, where the economic forces" (of a one-sided selfish individualism, i.e., the spirit of unchecked personal gain) "are allowed full play. Had full or continued license been allowed by the State to the purely "economic" tendencies of the factory system in this country and in America, there can be little doubt but that almost the whole of the textile industry and many other large departments of manufacture would be administered by the cheap labour of women and young children. The profits attending this free exploitation of cheap labour would have been so great that invention would have been concentrated, even more than has been the case, upon spreading out the muscular exertion and narrowing the technical skill so as to suit the character of the cheaper labour. If we may judge by the progress made in the employment of weaker labour where it has had free scope, it seems reasonable to believe that, had no Factory Act been passed, and had public feeling furnished no opposition, the great mass of the textile factories would have been almost entirely worked by women and children." (*Ibid.*, pp. 296, 297-298).

In further and detailed illustration of the forces that are actively operating under the régime of factory production to destroy or undermine the Home and Family Life, we may place before the uninitiated Indian reader the following extracts from an article by the well-known author of "The Effects of the Factory System", Mr. Allen Clarke, in the "Vineyard" Magazine for May, 1913 (London : A. C. Fifield, 13 Clifford's Inn, E.C.) : "Those women who work in the factory do not wish to have the trouble of a confinement, with consequent loss of wages and the addition of another mouth to fill...Scientific preventives of conception are not in much use among the factory operatives ; they resort to the clumsy expedients for abortion I have just mentioned. But this is a chapter not to be written here. I have merely mentioned it in passing to show that among the *majority* of factory mothers, the birth of a child is not looked forward to with the longing love of pure maternity, but regarded as a disagreeable necessity incident to sexual commerce. Indeed there is little sweet and clean idea of fatherhood and motherhood amongst the factory workers. The babe is generally an unwelcome encumbrance, the result of fleshly accident, and, "to make the most of a bad job", as the Lancashire saying has it, is invested in some employment as soon as possible in order to make some return towards the expenses of his so-called "bringing-up". I am glad to say,

Western statesmen seek to eradicate. An Industrial Survey would have to give due weight to the prejudices and predilections of the craftsmen and workmen, and keep continually in view that we are dealing with a class altogether different to European workmen, and accustomed to a different rate of progression. It is hopeless to imagine that these men can be driven in grooves different to those which nature has assigned, or that training in Western individualistic methods will ever change their habits, formed and crystallised as they have been, through the ages, under conditions of communal life and activity.* As

however, that there are many exceptions to this type of parents. This last twenty years the sentiment that parents have a holy duty towards their offspring has grown beautifully, and I pray that it may spread far and rapidly; for these self-denying and true parents are only a small minority, often snubbed and reviled by their neighbours for their brave endeavours to make the world brighter for their children than it has been for them." (Vide *Vineyard* for May, 1913; pp. 515-516).

The factory regulations restricting and protecting women that have been imposed upon the employers of Labour by the State may be regarded in the light of a protection of the Home and the Family against the encroachments of the Machine; but evidently the fault in the case lies on the "nation that persists in permitting the unfortunate economic conditions under which the Western women of the labouring classes live. *The necessity that they be under of being bread-winners as well as mothers* is undoubtedly a great blot on Western economic arrangements." (Vide pp. 28, 30 of *Womanhood and Race-Regeneration* by Mary Scharlieb, M.D., M.S., London: Cassel & Co: 1912). Under the Factory Act of 1891 (which came into force on January 1, 1893), "the State has made certain efforts in improving matters, by regulating the hours of industrial labour of women, by paying for medical aid during confinement, by securing the early notification of births, &c. More recently the State, in the National Insurance Bill of 1911, has proposed to contribute towards the maternity expenses of insured women and the wives of insured men." (Vide p. 63 of "The Declining Birth-Rate" by Arthur Newsholme, M.D., M.R.A.S., Principal Medical Officer of the Local Government Board : Cassel and Company, Ltd., 1911).

—EDITOR, DAWN

28. The success of the factory system requires that there must be large aggregations of the proletariat massed in single centres. Therefore, if this system is to take root in India, Indian workmen in factories must have to make up their minds that all connection with their homes and families in the remote villages should cease and be discarded; and machine cities or towns will have to arise where the whole of the factory population must find all their interest centred. We have already seen in footnote 27 (pp. 152-154) that in the machine city the home and family interests do continually give way before the demands of the factory. As Mr. Hobson points out—in the great machine cities of the West "the home has suffered what the factory has gained. Home work is consciously slighted as secondary in importance and inferior, because it brings no wages; and if not neglected, is performed in a perfunctory manner, which robs it of its grace and value. Even the shortening of the factory day, accompanied as it has been by the intensification of labour during the shorter hours, does not leave the women competent and free for the proper ordering of home life." ("Modern Capitalism", 2nd edn., 1894, p. 320).

Thus, if the factory system is to take root in India, there must be a complete

I have pointed out in an earlier part of this essay, they live in groups, never isolated, speak collectively and act collectively. No amount of Western education will ever freight this people with the physical and mental energy of the West, which is rooted in the principles of individualism on which the national character of the Western peoples is founded. Private, i.e., individualistic, enterprise, which in the West is associated with the unrestrained and irresponsible pursuit of personal gain, and which would convert a community into a set of private jobbers, is a condition no one would recommend who knows Hindu hereditary craftsmen and workmen. I have accordingly assumed that community life forms the basis of the Industrial Survey.

The first duty of the Survey would be, therefore, to ascertain the aspiration of the hereditary craftsmen and workmen of India. They are necessarily the best judges of the system most adapted to their transformation of the character of the Indian villager. His family instinct, his love of home and his community, which has given him all that is sweet, pure, simple and sustaining in his character and life, will have to be discarded; and in its place will have to be substituted the dreary monotony of factory labour and the thousand demoralising interests that arise in a community of workers, the major portion of whose time is taken up in work in which they could not find or take any real joy or pleasure. As Mr. Alfred Chatterton, B. Sc. (a Madras Government official, now in the service of the Mysore Government as Director of Industries),—points out in an article on *The Indian Industrial Problem* appearing in the April, 1910 issue of “*Science Progress in the Twentieth Century*” (London : John Murray) —“We have introduced the Western system into India, but it has not yet taken root. It has not yet accepted the factory system, nor will it do so willingly; the undivided family has to be reckoned with.” (*Ibid.*, pp. 567, 568). Read along with this the following observations made by Mr. N. Gupta (formerly Editor of the *Leader* newspaper of Allahabad), in the course of a speech delivered at a session of the Fourth Industrial Conference of the United Provinces at Benares on 26th March, 1910:—“An attempt to graft the principles of the Western Labour Union on Indian workmen has met with very indifferent success, because the units are essentially different. Let us take a concrete instance. The Mill industry in Bombay more than any other Indian industry approximates closely to the industrialism of the West. There is a vast number of mill hands drawn from the provinces and swarming in the mills. This mill population of Bombay are wage-earners, but not residents of the city. Their earnings are bound up with the mills, but the city as a whole is no concern of theirs. Outside the hours of work all their thoughts are of the village left behind and to which they return whenever an opportunity offers. The agricultural and the rural population of India has two sections, those who *live on the land*, and those who *live by the land*. Those who find their way to the mills belong to the second class. The change so far as they are concerned is very beneficial, but is not a permanent change, for the village retains all the social and family ties, while the mill claims only the labour of the workmen”. (*Vide pp. 39, 40 of the Report of the U. P. Industrial Conference, 1910, printed at the Tara Printing Works, Benares, 1910*)—EDITOR, DAWN.

needs, of the evils that hinder their own welfare, and of many questions that can only be solved by their traditional experience. One of the first duties of the Survey would be to obtain a complete list of the "traditional callings", and to place on record all that could be gleaned of their written and unwritten law bearing on the rights of members, the amassing and disposal of corporate property, and the judicial functions of the guild. It would be able to learn the capacity of the men, the system of instruction, and the extent to which a guild on an improved method might be entrusted with the imparting of educational knowledge,²⁹ and this without resort to external colleges, technical institutes, and art schools of design.³⁰ A glance at the splendid buildings and works erected by simple workmen will demonstrate that technical instruction is to a great extent superfluous in India. Through the beneficial operation of the communal system, there never was a time when intelligent Indian workmen were in the position of our own labouring classes. A certain instruction giving a knowledge of machinery will be necessary, but even this must be limited.

29. Detailed information concerning the following particulars should also be obtained in connection with the proposed enquiry into the conditions of present-day guilds. "History of the guild: its constitution with full titles and duties of all officers: what meetings are held, and for what purposes: how trade is regulated by the guild,—hours of labour, maintenance of standard of workmanship, rules of apprenticeship: how disputes are settled within the guilds: what support is given to poor or unfortunate members: what charities, or religious or social endowments are supported: if any religious ceremonies are observed at any time, on what festivals, if any, the members of the guild jointly take part: whether the guild now maintains its former authority, and if not, why not: and of what value may the guild organisation be in the future." (Vide the *Dawn* for December, 1910, Part III, pp. 109-110; and also Sj. Mukandi Lal's essay on "The Banares Silk-Weavers' Guild", published in the *Modern Review* for March, 1911: vide also footnote 17 to this article, p. 124, dealing with the subject of trade-guilds in India)—EDITOR, DAWN.

30. Contrast with this present advantage here in India the great leeway that has to be made up by the promoters of the Arts and Crafts Movement in England: Here, as Major Keith points out, the guilds themselves may be most advantageously utilised to further educational ends towards the promotion of the Arts and Crafts; for they require only to be a little helped, guided and encouraged by the Government for them to yield their best educational results without the Government (if they but appreciated their present opportunity) needing to embark on any expensive scheme for the creation and maintenance of fresh Arts and Crafts schools. Whereas in England, as Mr. C. R. Ashbee M.A., F.R.I.B.A., the present leader of the Arts and Crafts Movement in England, points out in his "Craftsmanship in Competitive Industry" (1908), for the revival or promotion of the Arts and Crafts there is need for almost beginning from the beginning. Thus: "We must have proper schools of craftsmanship both in town and country, but more specially in the country, where the craftsman shall receive the necessary training, and if need be

XII

A more communal organisation is the demand of the hereditary workmen of India. You must re-establish a brotherhood of co-proprietors, composed chiefly of workmen, with Labour coincident with Capital ;⁸¹ not an army of *individual proprietors*, or those anomalous

his certificate or hall-mark of skill. Such schools as the Central School of Arts and Crafts, the Birmingham and Manchester Schools of Art, and the Leicester School should be our models, or such a school as we have at Campden." (Ibid., pp. 171-173)—EDITOR, DAWN.

31. One of the *real* issues in the problem of modern Industrialism is—Could the producers (who under the régime are mere wage-earners) be provided with Capital, so that Labour and Capital may be united in the same individual or body of individuals? Now it is almost taken for granted that the present system, namely, one under which the producers must be employees with no capital, and the non-producers must be employers (i.e., masters, the owners of Capital);—it is almost taken for granted that a system like this in which one class (the employers) are always non-workers (but profit-earners), and the other class (the employed) always a working class (but never employers and profit-earners) represents a state of things which is incapable of being replaced by anything better and is bound to endure so long as production has to be carried on on a large scale. This however means—and there could be no getting out of the position—that under the modern industrial régime, the relation between the class representing Labour and the class representing Capital—both of which factors are so necessary to production on a large scale—must ever remain *inorganic*. In other words, the existing system under which industry is carried on is no true system at all, but a haphazard combination of antagonistic elements with no pretence to a real unity; for, in any true *system*, all the parts or elements or factors must be unified into a single harmonious *whole*, a harmonious unity. When, however, the different parts or factors in the work of industrial production are so related that they are ranged in two classes or groups, which, however necessary to each other, nevertheless present opposing fronts, it is clear that the whole combination becomes no stable system, but a mechanical arrangement of opposing but interdependent groups (—not an organic entity)—whose interdependence brings them together but which must from time to time separate to fight it out amongst themselves with a view to test mutual strength. That is what has been happening for some time. In ancient times, as in Rome, when industry was carried on by the privileged landlord class with the help of a multitude of slaves, there was a sort of a system in the sense, that the two classes, the producers and the non-producing employers, were not placed in two warring camps, were not in a perpetual state of tension and friction or conflict and collision. In other words, the equilibrium that was established was established by the complete degradation of Labour to the position of a demoralised, servile class. We cannot call the unity that was thus produced in the industrial order in any sense an organic unity; for there, we do not meet with two parties by whose mutual aid and agreement industry was carried on, but only one party, the employer landlord, for the other party was no better than mere goods and chattels or domestic animals. In other words, the harmony and equilibrium or unity in the old industrial order of Rome was the harmony, equilibrium or unity that could only be effected by the absolute domination and complete

European and American Syndicates of labour, with "bosses" to manipulate them. You may have paid individual agency to supply hints,

exploitation, by the landlord (employer) class, of the actual workers and producers. Similarly also in modern times there might be effected an equilibrium and harmony in the working of the industrial system, if Labour or the wage-earning (employee) class could be completely brought under control and subjection by the capitalist or the employer class. If the earlier history of Trade Legislation in England were continued down to the present day and the working classes were not granted the right of Combination and Association as against these employer Capitalist class, a right which has increased the bargaining strength of the former, there could be no doubt that a unity, harmony or equilibrium similar to that which the ancient industrial order of Rome attained by reducing the working classes to the position of domestic animals, owned and exploited—could have been accomplished by this time by the capitalist employer classes of the modern West. But since that sort of solution of the Industrial Question is altogether out of the range of practical politics, the problem before us arises in this fashion,—Must Labour and Capital continue to be ranged in opposing camps in modern industry, or could the two be never united—not merely brought together as at present—but united in such a way that they may form one *whole*, the two elements, while dependent each upon the other, also co-operating with each other in a spirit of unity and concord? In other words—Is it possible to promote **an organic system of industry** in which Labour shall not be dominated by Capital, nor Capital by Labour, but both shall be so co-ordinated and energised as to subserve a common purpose, namely, the work of production of National Wealth. At present it is true, there is already present one important and essential element necessary to a right solution of the problem, namely, the interdependence of Labour and Capital, in other words, the recognition that each is necessary to the other, but the goal of an organic synthesis of Labour and Capital, that is to say, of a condition of things under which each would find its highest satisfaction and interest in co-operation with the other—is as far distant as ever.

To understand the real situation—to understand, that is to say, why Labour and Capital have hitherto refused to meet each other except as opponents, we require to note that under the existing system (or no-system) the "unit of industry," as it is called,—that is to say, the business or the Firm which is engaged in production—is not a true or complete association of Labour and Capital, since as it excludes Labour from all corporate rights in it. "If the Firm were a complete association", Mr. D. H. Macgregor, M.A., Professor of Political Economy in the University of Leeds, points out in his "The Evolution of Industry" (Williams and Norgate, London ; 1912),—"if the Firm were a complete association, all the parties engaged in production would share the profit or loss, and also the government of the firm; all of them would have part in the risks, in the ownership of the accumulated stocks of goods, in the initiative which a firm has to take, and in the credit which a firm can obtain because it is an enterprise. But the firm has developed on another basis, that of wage relationship, which means that the risk, the legal right to the accumulated stocks, the initiative, the government, and the credit of the firm belong to those who supply share capital, while those who supply the labour have their risk discounted for a fixed weekly amount and are paid off in this way." (*Ibid.*, pp. 122-123). And this exclusion from risks of capital and exclusion from the government of the Firm, from which various results follow to the detriment and prejudice of Labour, had their

but *the organisation of labour must be on a Community or Guild basis*, in every sense a co-operative body with co-operative rights, not

origin, Professor Macgregor points out, in the development of the Firm almost from the beginning of the great industrial change of the last century, under certain accidental circumstances, *along lines of wage-employment*,—not along lines of a true corporation or association in which Labour as well as Capital had each corporate rights. Thus, observes Professor Macgregor, “when the great industrial change took place, the relation of employer and employed seems to have developed as a matter of course. *The working classes were at that time without any organisation which might have enabled them to bargain for any other system, or to support claims of their own, in which the capitalist employer might have been dispensed with.*” (*Ibid.*, p. 120). And it was owing to the above initial and special circumstances, Professor Macgregor explains, that “the employment relation, in other words, the system of capitalism, gained *a long start*, which forced a defensive movement in the direction of Trade Unionism, so that the struggle for working class control over business has mainly been through the method of imposing conditions of bargaining.” (*Ibid.*, p. 151). Thus, under the circumstances mentioned above, “in the great industries of the country, the individual producer as a craftsman or a domestic worker lost his status.” (*Ibid.*, p. 120). It appears, therefore, that the “employment relation” is not a *sine qua non* in industrial production; that that relation lent itself so easily at the beginning of the last century of the great industrial change because of the circumstance, as pointed out by Professor Macgregor, that “the working classes were at that time without any organisation,” such as would have enabled them from the very beginning of the industrial change to inaugurate a system in which Labour was to hold rights and privileges coincident with those of Capital. The result has been that the employment relation, that is the Capitalistic system, having got a start—a long start, it has been left to present-day thinkers and reformers to devise means to enable Labour to overtake Capital; and so has arisen what is known as the Co-partnership Movement—“which stands for an attempt to make *workpeople shareholders* (either by creating a business whose capital is held by workingmen, or by obtaining hold of the capital of a private business), and to overtake, by a gradual building up of the system, *the long start which capitalism has obtained.*” (*Ibid.*, pp. 128, 145). In Professor Macgregor’s opinion, “it is probable that if the idea of Co-partnership had been more to the front at the beginning of the great industrial change of the last century, there might by now have developed, by the accumulated force of profit and interest, a widely distributed working class holding in the capital of the country. Even if the Movement had begun on a small scale with something approaching a coincidence of workers and shareholders in certain businesses, by the end of a hundred years, the capital thus growing would have ramified throughout the industrial system, so that the usual Firm of modern times might, through its working class shareholders, have had a management in close sympathy not simply with its own Labour, but with Labour as a whole.” (*Ibid.*, pp. 150-151).

It is clear from the above that the ideal of combining the ownership of Labour and Capital in the same body of individuals is the ideal of wealth-production which is advocated by a section of Western thinkers and economic reformers. But the difficulty in the way of the rapid consummation of this ideal of co-partnership, as it is called, is, as we have seen, that Capitalism has already got a long start and

those we find in European stores. The most important phase of the new conditions is, as I have already shown in my earlier observations,

that consequently the process of acquiring sufficient Capital by the working class, which would enable them to combine Labour and Capital in their own concerns, so as to successfully compete with enterprises run by capitalists under a system of wage-labour, must be sufficiently long and arduous. Under the present system of wealth-production with the help of up-to-date machinery, capital—and capital in sufficiently large quantity—is an absolute necessity; and therefore the working classes, if they should aspire to transfer the control of industry from the hands of the financier to their own hands, must own capital. But in the course of the last century or more, under the system of wage-employment for workpeople and profit-earning for the capitalist-employer, capital has already gravitated into the hands of a limited monied class,—the body of financiers, who have succeeded in achieving a position of almost absolute supremacy in all matters connected with the direction and regulation of wealth-production and wealth-distribution. It is thus,—when Labour has been awakening to the real needs and issues of the existing situation and has become eager and anxious to set about acquiring capital with a view to combine in themselves the ownership of Labour and Capital, so as to create greater working class control over industry,—it is when the awakening of Labour has come, that it has begun to realise how heavily its hands are tied up, how handicapped it is in its effort to promote the growth of capital among its own people in the face of competition with the existing body of capitalists and financiers who have almost monopolised all control over modern industry,—Labour, indeed, has begun to realise that “the real difficulty is to overtake the long start” that has been gained by the former. And faced by the difficulty, Labour has been advised that the proper way for it to go about would be not to “disperse working class earnings in the general capital of the country,” but to obtain “a strong hold of the government of a limited number of concerns by the working classes.” (Macgregor's *Evolution of Industry*, pp. 152, 151). In the pre-machinery age, the proportion of fixed capital to labour in the industrial unit, i.e., the business firm, was small; and the union in the ownership of labour and capital was accordingly easy of accomplishment. The improvements in the mechanical arts, however, by continually increasing the proportion of capital to labour in a business, have placed capital more and more beyond the possession of the individual producer as a craftsman or domestic worker. But while the need for the ownership of increased and increasing capital for production with the aid of the machine may be readily admitted, the contention put forward is that the divorce in the ownership of capital and labour, which is the most outstanding and the most sinister feature of the existing economic arrangements, could have been prevented or at any rate arrested, if the responsible authorities or the general community had betimes seen their way to take the necessary steps, by way of State aid or by encouraging the formation of producers' organisations, or by other administrative measures,—to facilitate and organise the flow and supply of capital to the producers to enable them to meet the new conditions of wealth-production with the help of machinery. The contention is put forward that it does not at all seem to be a sort of axiomatic truth which it would be mere folly to resist, that an age of machine-production must necessarily be an age of wage-employment and capitalist finance;—an age, that is, of divorce in the ownership of Labour and Capital. That such divorce has taken place in the West is, it is contended, no argument

the installation of Indian *individual* capitalists as employers of labour or owners of factories. But the wants and circumstances of India

that machine-production must necessarily bring about a system of wage-employment in industry. For, such divorcement in the West is explicable by the presence of particular conditions and circumstances which were allowed to have their way, but which could have been obviated and regulated by the application of human forethought and skill. On the other hand, the truth appears to us to be that the association in the ownership of Capital and Labour represents a natural or normal order; while the opposite, the divorcement, bespeaks a permanent malady in the social body politic.

For, indeed, under the rule of Finance as the dictator of Industry, Industry is not being allowed to run along channels which are healthful to general Society. We call all production healthy when it is intended to meet a *real* demand; but under the existing system—a system of divorcement in the ownership of Labour and Capital—under the present rule of Finance and the régime of wage-employment, wealth-production is carried on more or less on a speculative basis—in a spirit of gamble, occasioning alternate periods of over-production and under-production, alternate periods of inflation and depression, almost every decennium. It is pointed out that “modern industrial nations are able to produce consumables far faster than those who have the power to consume them are willing to exercise it. Hence there is an ever-increasing margin of productive power redundant so far as the production of present consumptive goods are concerned.” (Hobson's *Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, 1894; p. 100). Thus, the control and regulation of Production by parties who are not the actual producers but who are able to employ and exploit labour by the power of finance—this divorcement, as we have said, in the ownership of Labour and Capital—has resulted in the production of goods under the three following heads:—(1) Production of goods by way of supplying the real needs of consumption, present and immediately future; (2) Production of *surplus goods* by way of utilising the extra productive power of the existing plant and machinery;—which is *speculative* commercial production; (3) *Further surplus production* of goods with the help of *surplus* plant and machinery, i.e., machinery and plant which, though not needed to meet a real demand for current or immediately future consumption, are nevertheless purchased and put up to compete with (and if possible to oust) the existing ones, and which thus go to absorb a portion of the *surplus capital* of the financier;—which is also *speculative* commercial production, because such production does not go to meet any existing demand for consumption either in the present or in the immediate future, but nevertheless makes its way into the market in a spirit of speculative and cut-throat competition.

The divorcement in the ownership of Labour and Capital has thus resulted in the exploitation and degradation of Labour for the speculative purposes of commercialism,—and not for purposes dictated by the real needs of the community. Now this process of speculative production is the immediate outcome of the power of commercial Finance to control *market* and *output*. But if Labour and Capital were coincident, i.e., if the divorcement in the ownership of Capital and Labour ceased,—Labour would be able to control both market and output; with the result that the rage for speculative production (under the different heads aforementioned) in the interest of irresponsible Finance, but to the detriment and degradation of Labour, —would either cease or be considerably arrested. And, further, there would be hope for the Arts and Crafts. For, under the new condition we are considering, *if the*

demand that we modify our system of individual proprietors, take our cue from the past of India, and re-organise a system of labour adapted to the communal genius and character of the people. It was the practice of the ancient Sovereigns of India, during Hindu Supremacy, to set apart a portion of their revenue for the benefit of the communal industrial associations, so that Labour³² and Capital were treated as

quantity of machine-work is kept down to the social requirements of the community's consumption of machine-products, the question of *Standard* would sooner or later come up for solution at the hands of the community. Under the rule of Finance—i.e., the rule of commercialism and speculative production,—the only standard is that of Quantity: “To standardise” means to make a pattern or type to which any subsequent quantity can be made. It does not postulate goodness; nor does it imply badness; it ignores *Quality*, but it necessitates *Quantity*.” (Ashbee’s *Craftsmanship in Competitive Industry*, 1908, p. 91). At the present moment the maintenance of a Qualitative Standard of production, such as is essential to the Arts and Crafts, is not possible in the face of the competition of *Speculative Production* of cheap and inferior machine-products widely advertised and popularised by Capitalistic Finance with the aid of machinery and plant. But when speculative production ceases by the transfer of the control of industry from the hands of the Financier to those of the Producer, the question of a Qualitative Standard of production would inevitably arise. When the relation between Capital and Labour is that of the employer and the employee, Labour organised in Trade Unions has necessarily no voice in the determination of the Standard, nor in the determination of the volume of output, or of the market,—functions which were the characteristics of the old Guild organisations, in which Labour and Capital were combined, although like the latter, the Unions regulate wages and hours of labour in addition to the more social duty of giving timely help to the sick and the unfortunate, &c.

Modern industry is thus completely in the hands of the Financier and Speculator; but we have shewn that the arrangement is unnatural, and has been the result of a course of circumstances which might have been obviated if the vital issues of the problem had been adequately understood from the beginning. Now, with a clearer comprehension of the realities and essentials of the case—the Government, the Community, as well as the classes affected, must make up their minds to retrace their steps to return to a normal condition of affairs, and with that view take the initiative in the work of freeing industry from the grip of the speculator and financier, and effect a unity in the ownership of Labour and Capital, which would arrest speculative production and bring up the questions of *qualitative* consumption and *qualitative* production at the bar of an enfranchised community. “The *standard* in every industry is best determined by those that labour in it; theirs should be the authority”—not of the financier and speculator whose eye is always on more and more sales, with a view to larger and larger profits, *irrespective of the character of the goods produced*. “This is but another way of saying again that production must be controlled by the producer, and to this refrain we must continually be returning.” (Vide p. 91, Ashbee’s *Craftsmanship in Competitive Industry*, 1908): The subject-matter of the present Footnote is further developed in Footnote 34 and in special relation to the question, of the Arts and Crafts.—EDITOR, DAWN.

32. Consult FOOTNOTES 31 and 34—EDITOR.

identical and never came into collision. I am indebted for this information to an able writer on Capitalism by the Marquis de Pareto,³³ the able Professor of Political Economy in Lausanne. I see no reason why the Indian Government ought not to see its way to eventually advance money to Indian industrial communities³⁴ as native Governments did under Hindu Civilisation ; or why the interests of investors should

33. Marquis de Pareto is the author of *Cours d'Economie Politique*: Reference to this book is made by Mr. S. J. Chapman, M.A., Professor of Political Economy in the University of Manchester, in his "Political Economy" (London : Williams and Norgate, 1912 ; p. 23).—EDITOR, DAWN.

34. [N. B. This Footnote is directly related to the previous Footnote 31, being a continuation and development of the latter.]

The *industrial communities* to which the advance of capital by Government is advocated by Major Keith must be true guilds,—that is industrial associations who have the control over the production of wares in their hands and are not mere wage-earners. The existing *Trade Unions* are not such industrial communities and do not come within the scope of Major Keith's observations. For, it would appear that the Trade Unionism of the present day has not and cannot have for its object the production of wares by Labour ; for such production, both in respect of quality and quantity, is wholly in the hands of the Capitalistic Firm, and would remain so until the transfer of industry into the hands of Labour through accumulation of capital by Labour, which must be an extremely arduous process seeing that the financier class has already obtained a great start through the development of the wage-employment system during the last one hundred years or more. The present-day Trade Unionism, indeed, has for its objective *the development of the bargaining power of Labour in its contest with organised Capital*. Consequently masters (i.e., the capitalist employers) are not members of these organisations ; for, as Mr. A. J. Penty points out in his *The Restoration of the Guild System* (p. 75), "the circumstance that modern industry is so completely in the grip of the financier and speculator is alone sufficient to prevent any speedy transformation of the Trade Unions into Guilds, since so long as it exists it is difficult to see how masters and men could belong to the same organisation." If, therefore, in the future industrial order, "Labour and Capital have to be treated as identical and never to come into collision," as Major Keith rightly observes, the object could only be accomplished by enabling Labour to be the owner of capital, leading ultimately to the organisation of Labour on a *Guild* basis. In the case of the Arts and Crafts in India, there are already existing such guild organisations—although in a somewhat neglected and depressed condition ; but the development of a public policy grounded on an appreciation of the fundamental truth that the real hope of a permanent solution of the industrial problem lies in the union, and not in the divorce, in the ownership of Labour and Capital, would restore to the neglected and declining guild organisations in India a part of their old prestige and importance, which would result in the promotion of their general well-being. Accordingly the plea advanced by Major Keith that "there is no reason why the Indian Government ought not to see its way to eventually advance money to Indian industrial communities as Native Governments did under Hindu Civilisation" would appear to us to be neither extravagant nor chimerical, in the light of the

not be as safe in their hands as in those of a body of individual employers of labour, or mock European Syndicates. For, as regards Indian

altered and improved understanding of the real issues underlying the industrial problem.

Furthermore, when public policy is grounded on a real appreciation of the sociological factor that in the union and not in the divorce in the ownership of Capital and Labour lies the hope of the future well-being of the *whole community*—and not merely of the industrial community, the fact will be more and more understood and brought out that a great part of the capital invested in modern industry is wholly superfluous and is wasted or mischievously employed, being needed only for speculative production ;—the fact, indeed, will be more and more brought out that the amount of *true industrial capital*, i.e., industrial capital really needed for purposes of social needs, is far less than what is actually employed at the present day under the wage-employment system of production. It would then appear that the disposal of *surplus machine-products* (surplus, in the sense that they represent production which cannot be absorbed by consumption, whether current or immediately future), and the disposal also of *surplus capital* in the way of purchase and putting up of plant and machinery for *further surplus* production—both of which factors keep going the wheels of present-day speculative Finance and Commerce—represent a phase of activity which has been eating into the very vitals of the body politic and must be realised as a disease of which society has got to be cured. For, indeed, as has already been noted—the needed amount of industrial capital for purposes of social well-being is considerably less than that which is now actually employed. And if this be so, it does appear that the present problem before the Government to help in the accumulation of capital in the hands of the producers (with a view to effecting a union in the ownership of Capital and Labour) by necessary legislative and administrative encouragement of industrial communities formed on the *guild* basis (for the guild alone represents such combination of Labour and Capital in the same hands)—it does appear that this problem before the Government would be neither so vast nor so complex, as it would have been, if the finding of capital for industrial communities had for its objective their financing with a view to production for both real and speculative purposes. Thus, three essential factors in the case emerge : (1) the need for promoting the union in the ownership of Capital and Labour ; (2) the need for recognising that the elimination of capital employed in modern industry for purposes and in the interests of *speculative* production by the financier class with a view to employ and absorb their surplus capital,—is necessary in the interests of social well-being ; and (3) as a necessary corollary to the previous argument—the need for recognising that the true industrial capital required for really social purposes is but a fraction of the whole capital that is at present in employment under the existing system.

There is need also to recognise that the phenomena of speculative production and distribution with the aid of Capitalistic Finance aided by Machinery could not but have a most injurious effect upon the Arts and Crafts of the whole world and that in the four following ways: Firstly, by popularising, by all the means and arts of commercial distribution, cheap and inferior machine-products and pushing on their sales over an ever-increasing area of the world's population,—thus displacing by a continually increasing supply of such inferior but cheap machine-products the supply of craft-products : Secondly, and this follows as a necessary consequence of

Capitalism, it is a system entirely of our régime, and introduced in recent times. In that most prosperous period of Indian Industry, which lasted from 600 B.C. until 900 A.D., there were neither individual

the first—by reducing the opportunities of craftsmen for the production of craft-wares, leading through such want of opportunities, to a decline in craftsmanship itself: Thirdly,—by bringing down the level of taste of the consumer class—by a silent and insidious process of undermining their power of appreciation of the standard, quality, or individuality of commodities, while at the same time, creating among them an unhealthy hankering for the possession of quantity in preference to quality: And—fourthly and lastly,—by the methods employed by commercialism of inducing craftsmen for the sake of better wages or income offered by the agents of commercialism to forego real craftsmanship and to employ themselves in reproducing on an increasingly large scale, in the interests of commercialism, inferior foreign designs and patterns, thus vitiating all *traditions* of indigenous craftsmanship. If the propositions we have advanced *separately* are true and are accepted, it is clear that the elimination of speculative production by the emergence of the new economic order (which would follow on the union in the ownership of Labour and Capital) would help in a great way, *both directly and indirectly*, to set up the Arts and Crafts not only of India, but of the whole world. The employment of industrial capital would be reduced to its proper limits dictated by the real social needs of the world; and an opportunity created for the better appreciation of art and craft products as contradistinguished from machine-products,—for the better appreciation, namely, of quality, standard, and individuality in production as contradistinguished from the ideal of mere quantity, in reference to goods exactly similar to one another, i.e., articles of precisely the same pattern, the same shape, size, colour and material, such as it is within the province of *mere mechanical power* to produce in *ever-increasing volume*. (Vide Footnote 22, pp. 135-139).

This aspect of the industrial question, the question, namely, of the growth of what may be called the "personal capital" of the community (in the shape of skilled craftsmanship) as distinguished from its "industrial capital", lies implicit in the other and wider proposition with which the working classes are at present concerned—namely, how to promote union in the ownership of Labour and Capital in the same body of individuals. "At the present moment," observes Mr. C. R. Ashbee, "while the instinct of the working classes is leading them slowly and certainly towards the collective control of *industrial capital*, they have not yet learned to separate the capital needed for industrial concerns from the capital needed for all those other things which cannot be fitted into the industrial mould...In the coming order of Labour, must be gathered all those personal interests, those finer aspirations of labour outside machinery—the other things that are dependent not upon industrial capital, but upon *personal capital*." (*Craftsmanship in Competitive Industry*, 1908, pp. 170, 177). We have said that the question of fostering the growth of "personal capital" in the shape of craftsmanship in the community would come up as soon as the full implications of the present state of divorce in the ownership of capital and labour have been adequately comprehended. In the meantime, the suggestions made by Major Keith on another page of this Essay (pp. 96 and 97, of the April-May number of this journal) for protecting the existing stock of "personal capital" in the Indian community, for protecting the struggling craftsmen of India, against the illegitimate onslaughts of Finance-directed speculative industry and commerce—

landlords nor capitalists ; but it is a mistake to imagine that land was held pretty much on the principle of peasant proprietors, such as we find in Switzerland. We have introduced into India our system of landlordism³⁵ and individual proprietors, imagining that the Feudal system,

require to be pondered over and carried out as far as practicable. Mr. Keith's suggestions include, among others no less important, the granting of copyright privileges to the art designers for their designs. "The manufacture of art fabrics should have protection like authors. Copyright privileges ought to be secured." Similar suggestions for State protection, but with special reference to the needs of England where the old guilds have all but died out, have been put forward by Mr. Ashbee in his *Craftsmanship in Competitive Industry* (1908 ; p. 111), where he asks of the State for "a more intelligent support and interest in questions of Art and Craft, such as is wisely accorded in countries like Germany, France, Austria, Hungary." And he asks also for "a more liberal application of the principles of copyright and registration in cases where they are of service to the Arts and Crafts—for assistance to the voluntary societies of artists and craftsmen in the matter of exhibitions, grants of land, and permanent buildings and so forth—and also for the licensing of small workshops, perhaps through the medium of the voluntary societies." These suggestions offered by Mr. Ashbee, although they have direct reference to English conditions, ought also to be considered by the Government of this country, who should be able to enter into the merits of a new industrial order founded on the union in the ownership of Capital and Labour, as conducive to the best interests of the whole community ;—and they have to be studied also in connection with the suggestions of Major Keith to which we have already drawn attention, because these latter are directly worked out in reference to the special needs and circumstances of communal life obtaining in India.—EDITOR, DAWN.

35. According to Major Keith, Landlordism, like Capitalism, is a modern importation of the Government and is not suited to the communal soil of India, because landlordism like capitalism is individualistic : so that the introduction of a system of individual proprietors (landlordism) like that of individual capitalists (capitalism) into the communal polity of India being more or less in the nature of an introduction of foreign factors into the body politic of India could only operate in letting loose the principles of an exploiting individualism upon the Indian people. The strength of that people, according to Mr. Keith, lies in its system of communal association ; and if exploiting individualism, whether in the shape of Landlordism or Capitalism, has to be combated, the forces of communalism among the people have to be strengthened and not weakened, so that the people themselves might know how to protect themselves against the aggression of superior individualism—and not be left to depend wholly upon State-protection offered in the shape of tenancy laws and factory enactments, which seek respectively to restrain the individualism of landlordism and capitalism. But the forces of communalism instead of being strengthened, are gradually relaxing, not, as it is contended, because of any principle of decay inherent in it, but because the whole polity of the Government in this country has been conducted on theories and ideals of individualism,—by administrators and statesmen trained in the principles of a nineteenth century individualism, and whose whole sympathies are with such principles.

It will be noted, however, that although the Western individualism of the nineteenth century (which has been and is being sought to be transplanted to Indian

more especially in reference to Economics and the Tenure of Land, had been the same in India as in England. Whereas, as a matter of fact,

soil), has been the result of a complete revolt against, or reaction from, the principles of social life and constitution imposed by feudalism, still with respect to the theory of land tenure, as embodied in the notion of superior individual proprietors (landlords) owning the soil, the ideal of feudalism has held sway. Major Keith's position is that, broadly speaking, in India the ownership of land subsisted neither in the State nor in any intermediary called the landlord between the actual holder in possession of the soil, and the State. According to him, the landlord in India is a middleman created or recognised by the British Indian Government and superimposed upon the actual proprietors holding the soil, for purposes of administrative convenience, and under the domination or inspirations of feudal notions which have come down to Englishmen from the Middle Ages, and which have supplied to the law of English landed property some of its most fundamental concepts. The idea that all land must belong to some lord, of whom a tenant must hold, so that the ownership is vested not in the actual holder, but in some superior landlord—is one of those feudal ideas that played a great part under the régime of the *earlier* administrators of India in determining who was to be recognised as the owner of the soil and who the tenant; so that for purposes of land-revenue administration, the Government might "settle with" the person thus recognised as *owner*. For, the idea that the "so-called" tenant in actual possession of the soil might himself be the owner of the land—that in fact he might combine in his single personality the double capacities of tenant and landlord, was altogether foreign to the conception of Western feudalism,—since, according to feudal ideas, the whole soil of the country was owned "by or is the property" of the sovereign, who was the supreme landlord, and under whom and through whom (through a process of what is known as sub-infeudation) a whole hierarchy of inferior landlords (who, by turns, were vassals and tenants to their superior lords, and lords to those under them—to their own vassals and tenants) came into existence.

Feudalism, no doubt, in most of its features, has wholly disappeared; but it has bequeathed to the modern nations of Western Europe the conception of a tenant holding land from a landlord, as a (supposed) basic idea of humanity, which led to its application or misapplication in dealing with the rights of landed property in India. Thus, when Lord Cornwallis was confronted with the problem of the land-revenue settlement of the province of Bengal, he had to find out in whom the ownership of the soil really vested; and although the extreme idea that the whole soil belonged to the State, which was one of the cardinal notions of feudalism, was from the start rejected as inapplicable to the case of India—because throughout the history of India, the right of the State did not extend to an absolute proprietorship, but only to a share of the produce of the soil—nevertheless, the idea persisted that the actual holder in possession of the soil was not the proprietor, so that a proprietor must be sought out elsewhere of whom the actual holder must be a tenant. And the idea that held sway over the thoughts of Lord Cornwallis was that as in England the proprietorship of the soil (as the result of the domination of feudal ideas extending over centuries) was vested in a landed *aristocracy*, so also in India, there must be a landed native *aristocracy* who really owned the lands of Bengal and who were, therefore, required to be sought out and formally proclaimed as *landlords* of the different parts of the province of Bengal, in order that they might be required to

in India there has been no Military Tenure as the result of conquest,³⁶

furnish the appropriate shares of revenue to the State. Any idea that the soil might belong to the *peasantry, either as individuals or as organised in groups*, was from the start so repugnant to their inherited feudal notion that the soil must belong to a superior landlord, that it did not at all occur to the earlier responsible authorities as a possible factor in the case. The first civil act of a new Government was always to effect a settlement of the land-revenue, that is to determine the amount of the share of produce which is demanded by the Sovereign in all oriental countries ; and, observes Sir Henry Sumner Maine, K.C.S.I., LL.D., F.R.S., "among the many questions upon which a decision must be had, the one of most practical importance is, who shall be 'settled with'—with whom shall the settlement be made ? What persons, what bodies, what groups shall be held responsible to the British Government for its land revenue ?" And the same authority proceeds to explain,—"What practically has to be determined is the unit of society for agrarian purposes ; and you find that in determining it, you determine everything, and give its character finally to the entire political and social constitution of the province. You are at once compelled to confer on the selected class powers co-extensive with its duty to the Sovereign. Not that the assumption is ever made that new proprietary powers are conferred in it : but what are supposed to be its rights in relation to all other classes are defined." (Sir H. S. Maine's *Village Communities* ; London : John Murray, 1890, pp. 149-150). And, again, on another page—"The English in India appear to have started with the assumption of the Mahomedans that the Sovereign might lawfully select anybody he pleased as the collector of the revenue ; but they soon accepted the principle that the class to be "settled with" was the class best entitled to be regarded as *having rights of property in the soil.*" (Ibid, p. 152). Sir Henry Maine refers to this transfer of proprietorship from the actual holders of lands who had been the real owners to the official holders with whom the settlement was made by Government for the collection of revenue—as one of the outstanding "political results of the settlement." It is with special reference to this factor that Major Keith employs the phrase "Revolution in Land Tenure" in the concluding sentence of the present section (xii) of his Essay : see also FOOTNOTES 39 and 38.—EDITOR, DAWN.

36. Under the feudal system, with its division of society into (land-)lords and vassals (tenants), the latter dependent upon and dominated by the former, communalism was in a very bad way indeed. But the excuse of feudalism and its concomitant feature of landlordism was, as has been pointed out by authorities like Guizot and Hallam, that "from it Europe was to receive its earliest social form and organisation....The feudal system rose definitively from the bosom of barbarism. It was indispensable to the revival in Europe of society, which had been so entirely dissolved by barbarism that it was incapable of a more regular and a more extended form." (Guizot's *History of Civilisation* ; translated by William Hazlitt ; vol I., London, George Bell & Sons, 1885 ; pp. 62, 61 and 79).

So, also, Hallam in his *Middle Ages* observes as follows :—"It is the previous state of society which we must always keep in mind if we should appreciate the effects of the feudal system upon the welfare of mankind....If the view that I have taken of those dark ages is correct, the state of anarchy, which we usually term feudal, was the natural result of a vast and barbarous empire feebly administered, and the cause rather than the effect of feudal tenures....Every district was exposed

and the village community stood on its rights.³⁷ Lord Cornwallis was unaware of the Collective System, offspring of the Family principle

to continual hostilities, sometimes from a foreign enemy, more often from the owners of castles and fastnesses. Against such a system of rapine, the *military compact* of lord and vassal was the only effectual shield ; its essence was the reciprocity of service and protection." (Vide pp. 147 and 82 of Henry Hallam's *View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages* ; reprint of the fourth edition as revised and corrected : London, Ward Lock & Co.) Or, as it is put by another writer,— "The great feudal estate was the ark of refuge from the general flood of social evils. Therefore, common men looked to their *landlord*, or looked about them for a *landlord*, to whom they could commend themselves." (Vide p. 102 of *Medieval Europe* by H. W. C. Davis, M.A. ; London : Williams and Norgate, 1912). Thus, under the feudal system, landlordism and militarism were intimately associated as inseparable parts of a scheme of *public defence*. "The living principle of a feudal tenure," observes Mr. Hallam, "was its *military* character. In the early times of the feudal policy, military service was the great object of the relation between lord and vassal. In the regular military fief (feudal estate) we see the real principles of the system—an alliance of free landholders arranged in degrees of subordination according to their respective capacities of affording mutual support." (Hallam's *Middle Ages*, ibid., pp. 91 and 94). Thus in Europe, the true character and scope of (military) landlordism was that it was intended as a scheme of public defence against the general anarchy of the times, as a bulwark against the general flood of disorder. We have to note in passing that in England, after the Norman Conquest, the forces of feudalism were in one important respect strengthened by the Norman Conqueror who, according to the strict feudal conception, regarded himself (and sought also by effective safeguards to securely establish himself) as primarily the sole landlord of the realm. Therefore, in the West, the institution of landlordism did not originate as a civil scheme of land settlement, i.e., for the better administration and collection of land-revenue by the Government. Nevertheless, when the need for feudal protection was not so much insistent for home purposes (as after the invasions of the Hungarians and the Northmen had been rolled back or had come to an end in the 11th century A.D.) ; or when the inefficiency of the feudal militia became evident, as when a campaign or a war had to be undertaken against a neighbouring kingdom, when, for instance, the kings of France and England were engaged in wars" (ibid., p. 142), the system of feudal landlordism, no longer wanted as part of a scheme of national or public defence, as part of a military régime, converted itself into the institution of a *territorial aristocracy*. The lands originally held by landlordism on terms of military tenure remained with it in its newer *civil* capacity.—EDITOR, DAWN.

37. In India the forces of communalism have uniformly held sway, and although there have been invasions and conquests, the institution of a military feudalism, as a scheme of public defence or as the inspirer of a particular type of legal, moral and social relations between man and man or between class and class, was neither imposed upon the country, nor arose as an indigenous product. On the other hand, the community system has, it appears, through causes which are perhaps, as Major Keith points out, connected partly with the Hindu's ingrained attachment to the collective principle of the family (as contra-distinguished from the principle of the individual), and partly with his psychology, i.e., the innate peculiarity

and Indian psychology, which has prevailed for ages and was an adaptation to the Environment and habits of the Hindus. Nor

of his mental constitution,—this community system has uniformly held sway over the whole or almost the whole of this vast continent. In India communalism has flourished under the régime of what is known as *village communities*; the village community system being a natural system of community life,—a system of a natural unity under which the different households are held together and work for all corporate purposes. The village community is a true natural community and not the offspring of purely contractual (legal) relations. Sir Henry Sumner Maine gives it the character of a "brotherhood," which "is so organised as to be complete in itself. The end for which it exists is the tillage of the soil, and it contains within itself the means of following its occupation *without help from outside*. The *brotherhood*, besides the cultivating families who form the major part of the group, comprises families hereditarily engaged in the humble arts which furnish the little society with articles of use and comfort. It includes a village watch and village police, and there are organised authorities for the settlement of disputes and the maintenance of civil order." (Sir H. S. Maine's *Village Communities*, 1890; John Murray; pp. 175-176). But, observes Sir Henry Maine, "the brotherhood" of the village community also "forms a sort of hierarchy, the degrees of which are determined by the order in which the various sets of families were amalgamated with the community." (*Ibid.*, p. 177). The forces of communalism in India have found expression in and through these *natural* corporations, which are the spontaneous products of the soil. The essential idea behind this community system, it must be remembered, is not always or necessarily, as was assumed by the earlier writers on the subject, the "community of proprietary enjoyment," although in a considerable number of village communities especially in Northern India, a community of enjoyment, in the sense of a common or collective ownership of the village soil, held and still holds good; the essential idea is that of a natural corporation, a natural unity in a communal brotherhood. For a long time it was held, somewhat erroneously, that communalism in India was directly associated only with that type of a village community in which the community of cultivating families of a village combined in itself also the ownership of the entire village,—in which the community, in other words, held the village as a body of joint owners (with or without separate shares as the case may be), such that these latter were never tenants paying rent to a superior landlord, although required to set apart a share of the produce as revenue to the State. The results of subsequent enquiries, however, have led to the view that communalism in India has no direct or necessary connection with the idea of a joint proprietorship of the village lands; its essential idea being that of a natural and spontaneous unity in the community. Thus the village, whether owned and held by the community jointly as in North India, or under a system of individual landholding as in South India, has been always more or less a *natural* corporation,—but in both cases not subject to the exercise of any superior right by a landlord. The communalism of the village organisation of North India, where the village (technically known as a joint-village) is the joint property of the cultivating community and is subject to the government of the village council or Panchayet, is the same as the communalism which permeates the village organisation of the South, where the village (technically called a *raiyatwari* village), though "owned by the *raiyats* as a whole" (*Indian Village Community* by B. H. Baden-Powell,

is he wholly to be blamed for an error that has caused incalculable mischief, when we find the classic author of the annals of Rajasthan

M.A., C.I.E., I.C.S.; Longmans, Green & Co: 1896; p. 432), is still "divided into a number of separate units or individual holdings, and where no one has any claim to anything but his own holding." (Vide p. 69 of *Land Revenue in British India* by B. H. Baden-Powell; 2nd edn.; Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1907).

When, therefore, we speak of a village community we have to recognise the threefold fact: (1) that the community whether joint owners of a village (as in North India), or otherwise (as in South India) holding land individually under the management of a hereditary headman (and in that manner "owning the village") *has no landlord over it* to whom rent was due; (2) that the community, while paying no rent to any intermediate middleman, is subject to the dominion of the State or Sovereign to whom the *revenue* has to be paid, either jointly or individually, according as the village is a joint village or a *raiyatwari* village; and (3) that under both systems of land tenure, the community is a true community, that is to say, a natural corporation—and not a voluntary association of individuals or families who have chosen to enter into certain contractual or legal relations for the purpose of the association. The communal management in the case of the united or joint village is effected through the agency of a *panchayet* or a committee (generally of five) consisting of the heads or elders of the households; while in the case of the *raiyatwari* village, the whole community is held together by submission to "a somewhat powerful hereditary *headman* and other village officers and by use in common of the services of a resident staff of village artisans and menials who receive a fixed remuneration on an established scale, and sometimes have hereditary holdings of service lands." (*Ibid.*, p. 69). It must not be imagined, however, that the position of the headman (in the *raiyatwari* village) corresponded in any sense to that of a landlord; his position was that of a natural leader,—a hereditary president of the village republic. The true relations between the headman and the members of the village community in the *raiyatwari* village will be understood from the following short characterisation:—"The headman and his aid, the writer or village accountant have always a considerable importance, and were easily taken so to speak into the State system and were remunerated by the State.....Very often it would be the case that the headman was the person who first established cultivation and founded the village. But though the headman owned the central site where the house stood, *he made no claim to the entire village*. *He was quite content with his hereditary position and above all with the holding of the land* (probably the best in the place) *that was allotted to him as headman*. The waste land that was left round the residences for general use did not belong to the headman; and the culturable waste adjoining the village belonged to the Raja; the headman only took official charge of it and located cultivators or gave it out to applicants." (*Ibid.*, pp. 70-71).

Thus, we have found that both in the proprietary (joint) village and the *raiyatwari* village, as the two types have been designated, the essential features of village organisation are (1) freedom from the institution of landlordism and (2) its true communal character, i.e., its natural unity of life and its self-government under the authority of the village council (the Panchayet of elders) or of the hereditary headman, assisted in both cases by the village officers. From this point of view, the expression, *independent village community*, is applicable to both classes of cases; because the title of "community", as Mr. Baden-Powell points out, is properly applied "to indicate the

describing the feudal system of Europe as derived from India.³³ As a consequence of this ill-fated mistake, we have not only the Permanent

connection which a group of cultivating landholders must have when located in one place, bound by certain customs, with certain interests in common and possessing within the circle of their village the means of local government, and of satisfying the wants of life without much reference to neighbouring villages." (Vide p. 9 of Baden-Powell's *Indian Village Community*, 1896). All this stamps a common communal character upon the two classes of villages named above, the joint or co-sharing village, and the *raiyatwari* village. And Mr. Baden-Powell points out that even the distinction based upon the separate institutions of the *panchayet* and the *headman* for the two types mentioned above vanishes. For, observes this authority,—"As regards the facilities which either form of village affords for local government and rural administration, I have expressed my belief that it is the 'village' as such which offers them; and that in this respect there is little, if any, choice between the forms. The *panchayet* was the special feature of the constitution of the joint-villages. A council of the heads of the houses took the place of a single hereditary head, as the agency for managing village affairs. But regarded as a means of deciding disputes in general, the agency of a *panchayet* was just as commonly resorted to in *raiyatwari* villages. In tribal communities the permanent village *panchayet* (and the tribal *jirga* on the frontier) are still active institutions." (Ibid., p. 441). For an exposition of the subject of the village community system, as affected by the importation of Western notions of land tenure, see Footnote 39.—EDITOR, DAWN.

38. The reference is to certain passages (given below) contained in the first chapter of "Sketch of a Feudal System in Rajasthan" in *The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* by Lieutenant-Colonel James Tod, a former Political Agent in the Western Rajput States: "There is a martial system peculiar to these Rajput States....This is so analogous to the ancient feudal system of Europe that I have not hesitated to hazard a comparison between them....I compared the features of Rajput Society with the finished picture of this eloquent writer (Hallam in his *Middle Ages*), and shall be satisfied with having substantiated the claim of these tribes to participation in a system hitherto deemed to belong exclusively to Europe....Attention to distinctions, though often merely nominal, will aid us in discovering the outlines of a picture which must at some period have been more finished; when real power unrestrained by foreign influence, upheld a system, the plan of which was original. It is in these remote regions, so little known to the Western world, and where original manners lie hidden under those of the conquerors, that we may search for the germs of the constitutions of European States." (Ibid., revised edition, vol. 1: Calcutta, S. K. Lahiri & Co., 1894; pp. 119, 120).

Sir Alfred Lyall, K.C.B., D.C.I., G.C.I.E., in his *Asiatic Studies*, vol. 1. (London, John Murray, 1899, chapter VII, pp. 224-225, 243-247) has shown at length that the system of land-tenure in the Rajput States did not partake of the feudal character and that Colonel James Tod with all his detailed knowledge fell into an error in construing the Rajput State as a feudal one, although some of its features apparently lent themselves to the interpretation put upon them by the distinguished historian of Rajasthan. The Rajput State or sovereignty differed (and differs) essentially from a feudal one; since, in Rajasthan the village community held (and holds) the lands as their own, although paying the customary share of the produce to the Rajput conquering immigrants (or their descendants), who under their Chief and arranged in a

Settlement in Bengal, but we have as the outcome of that system of landlordism,—Individualism, Capitalism, and, I regret to add, confiscation

sort of feudal hierarchy formed (and form) the Rajput *State* or sovereignty. The essential fact to remember in this connection is that according to feudal conceptions the soil belongs to the sovereign and sovereign alone ; while the Hindu conception is that the soil belongs to the peasantry either as individuals (as in the *ruiyatwari* system) or organised as groups (as in the joint village estate system) ; and thus the implications of the two theories differ widely also. For, since soil-ownership denotes, as Mr. Baden-Powell points out in his *Indian Village Community* (1896 ; p. 213),—an “exclusive title to the enjoyment of the whole of the produce of the land tilled,”—if the soil belonged to the peasantry, as according to the Hindu notions, the sovereign was entitled to a definite *share only* of the produce, as a symbol of State right, from the peasantry (*who are entitled in theory to the whole*) ; while, on the other hand, if the soil belonged to the sovereign, as according to feudalism,—the position of the parties was reversed, and the tenant derived his share from the sovereign (who in this feudal theory was entitled to the whole)—derived it either immediately from him (as his tenant-in-chief) or meditately from some tenant of this tenant-in-chief—or from the tenant of this sub-tenant, and so on in a regular gradation of subordination. The full implications of the Hindu theory of soil-ownership in relation to the right of the State—the Raja’s right—are thus brought out by Mr. Baden-Powell—“It comes to this that a claim to a *certain share of the produce* is the only tangible element and apparent symbol of right rather than of *soil-ownership*, whether individual or collective. (*Ibid.*, p. 213). The early rulers made no claim to be owners of the soil ; there is not a trace of such a claim in the *Manava Dharma Shastra* (Code of Manu) or in any other ancient text.” (*Ibid.*, p. 199). And again, “all over India, the rulers whether Moslem or Rajput, had thus no lack either of motive or opportunity for establishing their virtual ownership of the soil of their territory. But in practice, it is only just to remember, the better class of even foreign conquerors never conceived of their rights as necessarily antagonistic to the *concurrent, hereditary, permanent and long-established right of the older cultivators of the soil*. (*Ibid.*, pp. 208-209). Every holding collected its own grain-produce, and after setting apart the share of village-officers and artisans, and the *Raja’s share*, the rest went entirely to the landholder.” (*Ibid.*, p. 213). All this shows that the feudal sovereignty or State and the Hindu (which includes the Rajput) sovereignty or State are wholly dissimilar in the most fundamental essential as regards this question of right over landed property. Unlike the feudal sovereign, the Raja in the Hindu polity has no right to the ownership of the soil, although it would appear that “around the Raja’s right to *his share* in the produce, there clustered a number of other rights which were recognised and had the character of permanent property at a very early stage. (*Ibid.*, p. 213). The claims of the Raja or the State-right soon became consolidated.....and it became a recognised attribute of the ruling power that it had the combined right to the share of the produce, the right to the waste, and the right to the tolls and transit duties. (*Ibid.*, p. 208). In Rajputana, we find, for example, the oldest and the most dignified of the rulers only claiming as his State-right what are described by the three words, *An, Dan, Kan*,—i.e., as Colonel Tod explains, his right to allegiance and military service of all grades, his right to the *land-revenue share (bhog)*, and other taxes

of holders' property which is on the increase at this hour! Perhaps the supersession of Native Courts including the indigenous

(*barar*) including supplies of grass-wood or the equivalent thereof (*Khar-lakr*) and his right to royalties in mines." (*Ibid.*, p. 199).

It would appear from the above that the conception of a landed native aristocracy as forming part of a regularised scheme of social polity, standing between the Raja (or the Sovereign) and the community system, and dominating the last by virtue of a superior right to the soil,—such a conception, in fact, of a landed aristocracy as is found in European countries which have had to pass through the feudal phase of social and political life—does not appear to have originated on Indian soil under Hindu social or political conditions. The whole emphasis of the internal constitution of Hindu social polity in its relation to the land was upon the community engaged in the cultivation of the soil; while, in Europe, under the feudal (military) order, the whole emphasis was placed upon the body of feudal landlords, who under the circumstances which originated the feudal system (see footnote 36), were the more important factors or parts in the scheme of national or public defence. The military régime of (land-)lords, and vassals (tenants) inaugurated by the feudal system was, as we have seen, needed for a time, at any rate, as a reconstructor of social order; and when the need disappeared under the circumstances mentioned already (footnote 36), and feudal military régime began to disappear under the newer conditions of a *civil* polity, the ideal of landlordism and of a landed or territorial aristocracy remained, as though representing an almost natural order of things in the body politic, although, as a matter of fact, this institution of a landed aristocracy was a special product of European conditions which were not the conditions applicable to India which has had to pass through a wholly different course of social and political evolution.

In the Hindu Polity we do not ordinarily discern the landlord, with his proprietary rights, as forming any real part of the scheme, but we discover, *firstly*, the outstanding figure of the "overlord", as he is designated by Mr. Baden-Powell,—i.e., the Raja or Ruler with his overlord right—his State-right—his share of the produce and other defined and consolidated dues as explained in a previous paragraph. And, *secondly*, while in Western countries, the landowner has formed an essential and inalienable feature of the social system, in India under the influence of Hindu communal ideals, the peasantry community (until latterly in their history, under the stress of adverse conditions, as would be shown), had taken their place as the predominant factor in the social system. No doubt, the existence here and there in India of landlords and landowners—proprietors of the soil, especially during the disruption of Moslem Rule, is a fact with which the student of Indian history is confronted; but nevertheless the point must not be missed, as would be presently shown, that Indian landlordism, such as it was, did not figure as a great or dominant social institution; it made its appearance here and there, as the result of occasional or accidental circumstances, never as a legitimate offspring of the soil, as a genuine indigenous product. In Europe, (military) landlordism *had a special mission, a special function* to discharge and so when its military character decayed, landlordism remained to be embodied in a landed aristocracy as a part of the social scheme; here in India landlordism did not have such birth as an institution originating *in the vital needs of a whole society*. It came as it were by a sideway, and then not even in its present character connoting soil-ownership. But during the period of dominance of feudal notions in this country, especially in the 18th century, and under the inspiration of individualistic ideals and

Panchayet or Homestead Jury whose decisions commanded universal respect and were never appealed against,—by the establishment of Courts

a policy of centralisation which the British Government inaugurated and has uniformly pursued, it was able to rear its head and has since asserted itself as if it were an almost inseparable part of the Indian system,—with the unhappy result that Indian communalism which has a far greater right to be regarded as a real and genuine feature of the Indian social polity has been thrust into the background and its development arrested and its place usurped by landlordism and its ally, capitalism.

To comprehend the realities of the case, it is necessary to follow the sequence of events connected with the destiny or fortunes of the overlord or the Raja in any particular part of India. The overlord,—the Raja—does not claim the ownership of the soil; he is satisfied with his territorial *rule*—with his political power and influence—and with his limited overlord right—the State-right—to the share of the produce and certain other dues which came early to be consolidated, as we have seen in a previous paragraph. We must not forget then this distinction between the overlord and the landlord; the former is satisfied with his territorial rule and his Kshatriya status and with his share only of the produce—his overlord right; while the landlord, unlike the overlord, is essentially interested in claiming the ownership of the soil and in converting the hereditary, permanent and subsisting owners into (subject) tenants. Now, when this overlord “in the frequent event of the disruption of the whole kingdom, or of schisms in the family group has to descend from the ruler's place, he (or his family) does not pass away, he clings to fragments of the whole territory as a tributary or as a revenue manager” (p. 120, Baden-Powell's *Land Revenue*, 2nd edn., 1907); and then through the influence and opportunities offered to him under the new conditions succeeds in gradually impressing himself upon the communal owners as a real landlord—i.e., as an actual proprietor, and not a mere overlord, which he had hitherto been, satisfied merely with his share of the produce—his overlord right; and thus it happens that an illegitimate landlord estate evolves out of former territorial possessions or Ruling Chiefships. (*Ibid.*, p. 111). There may, however, be cases where notwithstanding this degradation of the overlord, he does not desire to take advantage of his new opportunities and convert himself into a landlord or proprietor of the soil, to the exclusion of the subsisting proprietary peasantry, by their degradation to the status of subject tenants. Now, whatever may be said of the great Feudatory States founded during the latter days of continual conquest and change of dynasty, and when the great deputies of the Mogul Empire, in Oudh, Bengal, Hyderabad, &c., set up as independent sovereigns, and Maratha Chiefs conquered territories all over Central and Western India and extended their claim beyond the old time-honoured right to the State share and right to the waste, so as to embrace the entire area—the fact remains that *in the normal condition of affairs* landlordism did not flourish as a genuine offspring of the social soil, as did Indian communalism, and in no sense could it be declared, as it could be declared in the case of the landlords of Western countries, that a landed aristocracy standing between the overlord (the Raja) and the community of cultivating proprietors arose originally out of vital social needs and constituted an essential feature of the social polity of India. And further in feudal Europe, as we have seen, the sovereign was the owner of the whole soil, and the landlord vassals derived their property right to their respective estates from the sovereign, but in India the overlord right did

presided over by an *individual judge*, which has led to endless litigation

not, as we have pointed out, extend to a proprietary right, (for, such right belonged properly to the cultivating peasantry), and so the legal right of the Indian landlord could not, in any case, exceed in amount the rights of the overlord from whom the landlord derived his interests, (as for example, in the case of territorial chiefs who had lost their position as rulers, or as in the case of estates arising out of grants or assignments of overlord rights to particular individuals by territorial chiefs); and may even include a fraction only of such overlord right (as in the case of farmers of revenue under Moslem rule). A policy of development of the country mainly along lines of communal life with landlordism tacked on here and there as a subsidiary adjunct,—the latter *not being allowed to overshadow, overwhelm, or overthrow communal life* (as it has unhappily already well-nigh succeeded in doing)—such a policy would have been in consonance with the natural order of a progressive Indian evolution. But the doctrine of individualism and conceptions bequeathed by an exploded feudalism have played no small part (aided by a policy of excessive centralisation), in reversing the natural order of India's evolution as exemplified in the attempt that has been and is being made to promote a new order on lines dictated by the ideals and institutions of other countries which have had to pass through conditions of social and political evolution wholly different from ours.

Enough, we suppose, has been said to establish the propositions, namely, that in India landlordism as a feature of the social polity has never had that assured position which is associated with an institution evolved under the pressure of social needs and conditions,—that it has received a real start under the inspiration of ideals and methods of government founded on Western (feudal) lines,—and that as a consequence it has almost succeeded in overshadowing and undermining the community system, which, together with the institution of the overlord as embodied in the Kshatriya Raja or sovereign, supplies the true foundations of an indigenous Indian polity. In Rajputana, the overlord is represented by the Chief and his sub-chiefs and nobles who are his kinsmen—all arranged in a regular hierarchy much as if they formed a feudal order of landlords arranged in a regular descending scale with duties of military service and allegiance attached, which gave rise to the belief in the mind of the classic historian of Rajasthan that the Rajput scheme of soil-division was an exact counterpart of European feudalism, and that indeed the European system was a lineal descendant of the original Rajput model. But what ever the outer similarities may be, it would appear that the Rajput State was and is fundamentally Hindu and non-feudal. For in the non-feudal Hindu State, unlike what obtains in the feudal, the overlord (in the person of the Kshatriya Raja or Chief) is, *firstly*, not the owner of the soil, the overlord right being strictly limited to a share of the produce and certain other consolidated dues already mentioned; and *secondly*, the community of peasantry, whether considered individually or in organised groups, constituted the soil owners; so that landlordism in such a Hindu State does not emerge (as it does in the European State with its feudal pedigree) as a natural or legitimate and spontaneous product of the social system. The Raja, the Maharaja, the Rana, the Maharana, the Thakur and other various sub-chiefs were all true Rajputs—i.e., true Kshatriyas who never descended to the level of constituting themselves into a body of landowners claiming rights of property, but were first and last, territorial overlords and rulers taking only their overlords' share of the produce, *without affecting the cultivating tenure of any existing holders*,—

to bribery and corruption and been the opposite of an economical

without interfering with the actual soil-tenancy. Therefore, this Rajput scheme would be in no sense a scheme of feudalism, because under the latter, the sovereign claimed the proprietorship of the whole land, and the vassals were as much landlords or actual proprietors as military lords. "The safety of the Rajput State and success in war alike demanded the loyal allegiance and obedience of every sub-chief in his grade and place to the Ruling Chief or the Raja." But they were not on that account feudal landlords or proprietors, claiming soil-ownership, because they restricted themselves to the limited overlord right, the State-right such as is appropriate to the dignity and status of the Kshatriya; while the soil-ownership, the real landed proprietorship remained with the cultivating landholders. That is one great and fundamental distinction between Western feudalism and the so-called feudalism of Rajasthan. The whole political and military organisation vested in the hands of the Kshatriya Chiefs of Rajput States, aided, of course, (and here comes the resemblance to military feudalism), by the sub-chiefs or vassals owing military allegiance and service. But for all that, and unlike European feudalism, beyond claiming the Kshatriya sovereign's overlord rights, and constituting themselves "lords of the soil" (to quote Sir Alfred Lyall's happy phrase) to signify the territorial ruler's status and the ruling character of their occupation - they did nothing to disturb the actual, subsisting, permanent, hereditary tenure of the cultivating communities of Rajasthan. We have already quoted the authority of Mr. Baden-Powell for the statement that "in Rajputana we find the oldest and most dignified of the rulers only claiming as his State-right what was described as the *An, Dan, Kan*" &c., (for explanation see p. 173, *ante*), and not the whole of the ownership of the soil. The Kshatriya character of Rajput State-right is thus brought out by Sir Alfred Lyall :—"The Rajput immigrants are never stated to have exterminated those whom they found in possession of the land, but were content to remain a dominant minority, laying a **tribute** upon the subject people, as Israel did upon some of the Canaanites. Of the 300,000 people who now inhabit Bikaneer about 12,000 only are Rajputs. The fact that the Rajputs of Rajputana never settled down to cultivate the land which they divided off 'among the tribes according to their families' (to use the words of the Book of Joshua), and that some of their clans have retained for some centuries that earliest form of a conquering tribal settlement in which the victors merely distribute themselves as *lords of the soil* is the prominent peculiarity of their history and existing political status." (*Asiatic Studies*, vol 1; London : John Murray, 1899 ; chapter vii., p. 227). Elsewhere in the same chapter of the book, Sir Alfred Lyall does not use the term *tribute* as due from the original cultivating communities to the Rajput overlords or chiefs and sub-chiefs, but uses the word *rent*, which however should not mislead us, because the idea of tribute is what Sir Alfred Lyall refers to, and because, as Mr. Baden-Powell points out, the Rajput chiefs contented themselves with only the overlord's right of *An-dan-kan* and did not claim the ownership of the soil. And the same interpretation seems also plausible in the light of the further fact that Sir Alfred Lyall makes mention of the cultivating *village communities* of Rajasthan as the permanent landholders from which such so-called *rent* (*tribute*) is due to the overlord. Thus we read :—"In a Rajput State of the best preserved original type we still find all the territory (with a few exceptions in favour of particular grantees) partitioned out among the Rajputs in whose hands

asset,—perhaps this supersession of Native Courts so criticised by Lord Macaulay was the first of the efforts which had the effect of

is the *whole political and military organisation*, though the mere officials and agents in the internal administration form an influential class apart. Under the Rajputs are the cultivating classes, mainly belonging to the castes or clans whom the Rajputs overcame when they took possession, and who now pay land rent to the lords or the families, living in *village communities*. (*Ibid.*, p. 225). In further illustration of the fact that the Rajput State had no pretension to the ownership of the soil but contented itself with the limited overlord or State-right to the revenue share of the produce, we may quote the following extracts from Mr Baden-Powell's *Indian Village Community* (1896 ; p. 206). "Colonel Tod records the sayings of the soil cultivator in the ancient State of Mewar, that he had so close a connection with the soil that he was like the *akhai dhub*—the *dhub* grass that could not be eradicated ; and he asserted his right in the oft-repeated saying—'The Revenue share is the king's property, *the soil is my property*'—Tod, i. 425." Similarly also may be quoted the following observations of Mr. Baden-Powell (*ibid.*, p. 200) on the position that the Rajput chiefs claimed no rights of ownership over their so-called 'fiefs' (estates) : - "*So little was the fief connected with the ownership in the land*, that there was a time, in Mewar at any rate, when the fiefs were moveable (Tod, i, 146)"

Lastly, one startling distinction between the Rajput State and the Feudal State remains to be noticed. In the feudal system, the soil-owner is the sovereign, who on certain conditions of service to him grants rights over land to his vassals, while these again could grant similar rights to their vassals according to what is known as a process of sub-infeudation : so that under that system the right over the land primarily belongs to the Sovereign. But in the Rajput State, the Chief as well as the sub-chiefs and vassals, who are all kinsmen as belonging to a common clan or division of a clan, are no less entitled to their respective shares of right over the land as the Chief himself and that independently also of the Chief. Thus—"The Maharaja and ourselves are of one stock—all Rathores. His forefathers have reigned for generations, our forefathers were their ministers and advisers and whatever was performed was by the collective wisdom of the council of our chiefs. Wherever Marwar was concerned, there our fathers were to be found, and with their lives preserved the land.....*When our services are acceptable, then he is our lord; when not, we are again his brothers and kindred, claimants, and laying claim to the land*." The above is part of a Petition (1821 A.D.) submitted to Colonel Tod in his capacity as Political Agent in Rajputana by some subordinate chiefs of the Jodhpur State who had been driven from their lands by the oppression of the Maharaja, the ruler of their State. (Quoted from Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* in Sir Alfred Lyall's *Asiatic Studies*, vol. I., p. 245 : see S. K. Lahiri's edition Tod's *Rajasthan*, 1894 ; p. 181). Similarly also Sir Alfred Lyall (*ibid.*, p. 245), quotes from Tod part of a certain petition to the British Government submitted by certain vassal chiefs of Deogarh against their political head, the *Rawat*. "When Deogarh was established, at the same time were our allotments ; as is his patrimony, so is our patrimony." (Vide paragraph 16 of the Petition : S. K. Lahiri's edition, p. 183 ; vide also Baden-Powell's *Indian Village Community*, p. 199 footnote, where he makes mention of the same fact). Under feudalism the vassal's right to the land was not co-ordinate with the right of the Chief ; while the contrary state of things holds good in Rajasthan. The Rajput State was and is not feudal. "It is frequently the custom

undermining Indigenous Power ; but the **Revolution in Land Tenure, with individual taxation in industry**, was the most memorable.³⁹

of writers on Indian subjects," observes Mr. Baden-Powell in his *Indian Village Community*, "to speak of the system of chiefs in subordination to a Raja as feudal ; but it is forgotten that really it differed from the feudal system of Europe. The safety of the State and success in war alike demanded the loyal allegiance and obedience of every clansman in his grade and place : otherwise the chiefs remembered that they had as good a right to the "Pat" or estate, as the Raja had to his Raj. In neither case did the allotment of territory have anything to do with the actual ownership of the soil." (*Ibid.*, p. 199)—EDITOR, DAWN.

39. [This footnote is to be read in connection with the last preceding footnote 38 and may be taken as a continuation and development of the latter.]

The "revolution in land-tenure" and "individual taxation in industry" of which Major Keith speaks may be taken as parts of a wider programme, viz., the transformation of the indigenous communal life of India by the gradual introduction and sustained support of the principle of European individualism at the expense of India's communalism.

This idea of individualism is, as we have seen, (*vide footnote 26, p. 145*) associated with another theory that of the so-called "Law of Progress" which aims at the break-up of the community system (and the exaltation of the individual), and which seeks also to build up a system of State-life on the ruins of communal life and **with individuals (not communities) as units of society**. Landlordism and capitalism both are expressions of this individualistic principle and have never, as we have seen, been the *normal* features of an indigenous Indian life. A system of State-life founded on principles of individualism is bound to further the cause of landlordism and capitalism, and to neglect or suppress, directly or indirectly, institutions which have derived their influence from the indigenous communalism. And, further, the tendency of a State seeking to build itself mainly upon foundations of individualism (with its concomitant features of landlordism and capitalism),—necessarily finds itself compelled to seek the aid of a rigid scheme of **centralisation** ; while the Indian ideal is that of decentralised institutions with an executive machinery at the head. A scheme of qualified centralisation which should have preserved the indigenous decentralised or communal institutions and helped them in discharging their separate functions, while also co-operating with the common life of the whole body politic,—would have been eminently appropriate and beneficial to a country like India and productive of permanent results ; but the British Indian Administration have from the start been proceeding on altogether different lines, being led by their allegiance to particular theories and principles which have been the particular result of a process of social and political evolution characterising the course of English or European history. In the West, to begin with, under the stress of conditions that followed in the wake of the dissolution of the Roman Empire, the needs of social existence necessitated the growth of landlordism as a paramount feature of Western life ; and during the course of a number of centuries known as the Middle Ages, the dead-weight of feudal landlordism stood in the way of the spontaneous growth of communal institutions, the only exception being those of mediæval guilds, which however had to force their way into life inspite of and in opposition to the forces

XIII

The communal system may be a product of the backward races, and out of place among highly civilised peoples, still in dealing with

of feudal landlordism. And later on, during the last three centuries or more in the onward course of European history, we find that under the stress of varied conditions (which are associated with the Renaissance era)—and especially the decline of craftsmanship (brought about by the neglect, suppression or deterioration of communal institutions like the mediæval guilds), aided by the growth of mechanical invention,—the arts and crafts, which were the special products of urban communal life of the Middle Ages, were gradually replaced by machine products under the leadership of capitalism and commercialism: While also in the sphere of agriculture, capitalistic landlordism aided by the arm of the legislature (which was again dominated by its own representatives) soon succeeded in weakening the strength of what community life was left in the country, by ousting the small farmers, under a régime of large-scale (capitalistic) farming, which necessarily led to the comparative depopulation of rural areas and the congestion of urban populations. Latterly, the evils brought about by the unrestricted expansion of an irresponsible individualism have led to a partial reaction against the latter; and the State, as the sole organised repository of strength which is available to the people, is accordingly *quietly* appropriating more and more power over individuals, so as to be better able to protect the less powerful units in the State against the aggression of powerful individualism. This last represents one part of the State programme (in England, at any rate); but simultaneously we find the gradual growth of State-created, i.e., statutory bodies, like the County Councils, Parish Councils, &c., upon whom greater and greater powers are sought to be bestowed with a view to strengthen those artificial bodies (—artificial, because they are not the spontaneous growth of communal life but are wholly born of the legislature), and to discover if some system of community life may not spring up anew under some such legislative encouragement; the whole purpose of the programme being that when these statutory bodies have acquired strength they may prove to be of increased service as subordinate centres of strength on which the State may rely for the more successful carrying out of its policy with regard to local areas.

The revolution in India to which Major Keith refers both in the departments of land-tenure and manufacturing industry is thus primarily connected with the development and exaltation of the principle of individualism in the scheme of the administration of this country, at the expense of the subsisting communal polity of the country. In other words, it appears that the programme of work to which British Indian statesmen have set their hands is more or less to impress upon the country, methods of social and political progress which were and have been the result of evolution in the countries of the West, under wholly different and special circumstances (as explained in the last preceding paragraph); and the chief instruments in their hands are (1) the Legislature and (2) the Courts of Justice, which latter are active agencies in the enforcement of individualistic theories and opinions after they have issued forth as laws from the hands of a legislature anxious to initiate "progress" in India along Western lines, and thus so far helping not to advance the process of a natural and stable evolution. Thus, in the place of the natural and spontaneous communal institutions like guilds, village panchayets (councils) and the machinery of *raiyatwari* villages &c., which were able to struggle on

the Hindus, we are dealing with a phenomenal people whose peculiar civilisation has survived the extinction that overtook Egypt and

for an independent existence, when they had not to encounter organised State interference,—we find that Western theories of (individualistic) progress and civilisation which were born under altogether alien conditions,—as well as a policy of centralisation which also is of Western origin, have combined to demand that India should be supplied with statutory bodies, like Municipalities, District Boards, and other Local Boards &c., which are all equally wanting in that strength which springs from growth from within, in that strength, in fact, which is associated with communal institutions and organisations of indigenous origin. And thus a cut and dried scheme of life originating in methods of administration that have been the product of particular Western historical conditions has been sought to be imposed upon the country at large. In a previous footnote we have spoken of the communalism of the *raiyatwari* village under the natural leadership of the village headman ; but the interests of centralisation and of an ideal of Government founded on principles of Western individualism have demanded that the strength of such communalism should be kept strictly under control, and so the authority of the hereditary village headman has been considerably curtailed and undermined and his position as a *natural leader* thoroughly impaired ;—with the result that when the Government have latterly thought fit to gather together the broken threads of village life under recognised leadership, in order to prevent an eventual and complete village disorganisation (which would be an administrative evil of the first magnitude), they have been encountering no small difficulty in discovering the proper men to help them in the work of the intended re-organisation. No less an authority than the late distinguished Sir James Caird referring to this particular point made certain observations which would bear republishing : “By our **centralising system**, we have drifted away from the method of rule common in the East, where the populations are agricultural and dense, *under which the management of the people is left to their natural leaders, the headmen of the villages, who are recognised by the community and who administer justice and preserve order and are responsible for the public revenue.* We have superseded this by discrediting the headmen, and in Madras and Bombay by an attempt to bring millions of small holders into direct contact with the Government through native officials of a low type (for the higher officers, so few in number, rarely have time to see them), and with a theory that our European officers, so few in number, will be able personally to supervise the arrangement, which is physically impossible. The headmen, no longer recognised or treated as leaders, and seldom communicated with, except through the lower class of native officials (who are said to be apt to take advantage of their position to extort bribes), become distrustful of us, and are distrusted by us. Our officers do not know the natives as they used to do when our Government was less **centralised**, and they are every year becoming more strange to the people by the increase of modern judicial duties, and the frequent changes from locality to locality.” (Quoted in *The Economic Revolution of India* by A. K. Connell, M.A. ; London : Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1883 ; pp. 163-165). The results of this administrative discouragement of communal life are seen in,—(1) a threatened disintegration of the community into a concourse of social atoms by the bringing of every individual village family (as in the *raiyatwari* villages of South India) into direct contact with a centralised Government through the lower grade officials ; and (2) the gradual

Mexico. Corporate existence is a first condition of the Hindu's being. With the Westerner, the 'individual' is everything ; the

decay and ultimate extinction of a class of men who belonging to the rural community have hitherto, or till latterly, been recognised as natural leaders, wielding influence and authority over that community, which influence and authority, if it had been wisely preserved and utilised by an Administration less wedded to centralising ideas, might have yielded considerable administrative and political results of great value ; and (3) the difficulty experienced by the Administration, in their latter-day efforts at village-reorganisation, to find out men who would be spontaneously recognised by the villagers as their heads or leaders and through whom the Government might be in a position to promote co-operation among the community in their various schemes of village betterment. The grand distinction between our present-day Indian municipalities, district boards, or local boards, on the one hand, and the communal institutions which have so eagerly been sought to be replaced by the former,--is that the municipalities and boards, unlike the communal organisations, are not popular in the Indian sense, that is to say, they do not spring naturally from within the bosom of the community,--that they do not represent the indigenous communities as communities, but are expressions of wholly different principles of representation--such as are applicable to societies whose units are individuals and not communities. The distinction between statutory and artificial bodies like our municipalities or district boards,--and the natural communal bodies of India, like the guilds, and the village communities &c., may be further illustrated by the statement that whereas the former are mere groups of men composed of heterogeneous units that have very little in common between them except the mere fact of their living in the same *locality* (and so being subject to and being united by the tie of mere place, each group differing as little as possible from the rest),--the latter, i.e., the indigenous communal organisations, growing out of the soil, are groups of men who, by reason of their belonging to single guilds or village communities, live under terms of the most intimate social and professional fellowship and so come to form highly organised and compact units. The unity of the indigenous community system is dependent not merely on the simple fact of the constituent families living as neighbours in the same locality, but also and above all things, on the *close social and professional ties which bind them together into one large family,--as it were.* They meet each other in their day's work, and their professional and social life are regulated by special rules and principles which are observed by all of them. For example, taking the case of the indigenous guild organisations of the country,--the families are united by ties of inter-marriage and inter-dining, obey a certain code of social etiquette and discipline, help distressed members of the community, restrict unfair competition in the economic sphere by enforcing among themselves a body of guild-rules, and in their united, corporate capacity meet in their guild-halls to administer the affairs of the community and support a number of religious and philanthropic institutions, such as temples, hospitals, dispensaries, alms-houses, and rest-houses for travellers, &c., &c. Thus, the "revolution in land-tenure and individual taxation in industry," to which Major Keith refers, is, as we have seen, but an expression of an attempt to shift the basis of Indian Society from communalism on to individualism, and to erect a political and administrative structure built not upon the ancient, natural and indigenous foundations, but upon those newer theories and ideals which are the outcome of a course of historical causes and events which must be

Hindu sinks the 'individual' in the community. We find the principle of the communities,—as distinct from Western Individualism—travers-

regarded as peculiar to the English people, or the peoples of Western Europe. "Before our eyes," wrote the late distinguished Sir William Hunter, in his *England's Work in India* (1882) "we see the self-government which the primitive village communities had ceased to give, developing into a higher form of self-government under municipal institutions....There are, in some of the provinces, district boards and rural unions which do for the country what the municipalities do for the towns. The Indian races are visibly passing from the village into the municipal stage of social organisation." Our own position is that it is a mistake—and a grievous one indeed,—to call our municipalities and district boards—*developments* raised upon the foundations of any existing indigenous institutions. Municipalities and corporations had long existed in communal India in its earlier history—as could be proved by unimpeachable evidence; but they nowhere stood forth as the expression and outcome of non-communal ideals and principles. Our modern municipalities and boards are creations of the legislature; and the village whose organisation has steadily decayed under the pressure of non-communal ideals and theories imposed upon it by the Administration—has had no part in contributing to the scheme of our municipalities and district boards. For, these latter are built upon the artificial basis of mere division of territories, and have sprung up at the bidding of an **external authority** and consequently, have no such cement as social and professional ties and sympathies generate and are found to generate in organisations of communal origin.

The municipalities and boards are not, therefore, natural developments of communal life and organisation, but importations of a different and an alien type of corporate bodies, namely, a type which recognises individuals and not communities as units of society. So true indeed is this that we do not find in the long course of the administrative history of India under British Rule any evidence that that Rule felt called upon to help in the maintenance in their strength, or in the development, of India's communal institutions and organisations, such for instance, as guilds, village communities (of the two types—the *ravateemi* type and the joint type), etc. On the subject of these communal guilds, which represented the non-agricultural classes, we have to note that under the indigenous order 'taxation in industry was not individual,' to use Major Keith's words, but was framed on communal principles. Thus we read the following remarks on the subject in Mr. Baden-Powell's "*Indian Village Community*" (1896)—"The system of taxation was soon extended further, for we find the trading and artisan classes organised into recognised *guilds*, each with its own head, and by this means a contribution from the non-agricultural classes was secured." (*Ibid.*, p. 196). And the same authority goes on to make the following further observations which bear directly on the point we are discussing. "I may be permitted to observe that in towns this 'guild' system of tradesmen and merchants still exists; and if we boldly made use of it in our first efforts to establish an income tax, there might have been less friction; for it is a matter of obvious justice as well as of ancient custom that non-agriculturists should contribute as well as the owners of land. What caused the unpopularity was the attempt to enforce a European mode of levy—an enquiry into profits and incomes, and a very useless and nominal examination of shop-books. It might have been unscientific but far more practical, to assess the different 'castes' or trade-guilds, &c., in lump sums through their *Chaudhuris*, as they were afterwards called." (*Ibid.*, p. 196, footnote 1). Similarly, we find that the Government with their ideas of feudal landlordism and their policy of centralisation were hardly in a position either to comprehend, or sympathise

ing every religious, secular, and industrial association of India. It constitutes the essence of the caste system and is intimately bound

with, the scheme of communal life lived by the rural communities who lived in the *raiyatwari* villages in the South under the natural leadership of their recognised headmen. The result was that a scheme of land-revenue settlement was framed which was not consistent with the maintenance of the strength and vitality of the communal order in such villages. For, the scheme adopted has only promoted the interests of a rigid centralisation at the expense of the unity and life of the old village constitution. In the place of the headman and the whole body of cultivators managing the business under the supervision of the State settlement-officer, the State itself took upon itself the task of coming to terms with each individual holder of land, thus undermining the authority of the headman and the strength of the village system itself. We know that in settling with the joint-village estate of North India, "the burden of the revenue was distributed (with the advice and under the supervision of the settlement officer) among the co-sharers, according to the principles of sharing and constitution of the estate, i.e., either by ancestral shares or in proportion to the share or holding." (Vide Baden-Powell's *Land Revenue in British India*, 2nd edn., 1907; p. 174). This system did not *so far* much interfere with the strength of the village constitution; but in the case of the individual holdings in *raiyatwari* villages in Southern India, the communal constitution was more or less ignored, as we have seen, "by an attempt to bring millions of small holders into direct contact with the Government through native officials of a low type". Mr. Baden-Powell in his *Indian Village Community* writes--"In the South, it was the idea of a village estate, as an area of arable and waste in a ring-fence and *owned by the 'raiyats'* (owners of separate and individual holdings) *as a whole* that was so difficult to realise. Here the early Government officers felt that the Government was the absolute owner of the soil, except indeed, when there was some special 'inam' (revenue-free) grant" &c.-(*Ibid.*, p. 432). Thus, from the start the tendency was visible to ignore the peculiar type of communalism in South Indian villages where the holdings were individual and yet the whole village (to the exclusion of the waste lands) was "owned by these individual holders i.e., the raiyats as a whole." And the consequence was, to quote the words of Mr. Baden-Powell, that "the raiyat was not declared as a formal proprietor" of his individual holding. (Vide *Land Revenue in British India*, 2nd edn., p. 125). And so, there is "no legislative definition of the raiyat's tenure, because he is held by no lease and signs no agreement and can relinquish his holding or a defined part of it on giving notice in due time according to rule." (*Ibid.*, pp. 126, 151, 205). Mr. Baden-Powell takes care to explain in connection with the *raiyatwari* village system that the reason for "the peasant's right to his separate holding being recognised by the Government in terms which imply a *somewhat inferior claim*" was not necessarily the result of any decay in the village constitution." (*Ibid.*, p. 75). He traces it to the circumstance that "in the beginning of the 19th century the idea of private right in land had often become feeble, by reason of agrarian oppression and overtaxing in unsettled times" (*ibid.*, p. 75), and therefore at the time when the land-revenue settlement was effected by the British Government, "these individual holdings represented *at the time*, a somewhat weak form of right, because the cultivators had long been so harassed with Revenue burdens and local exactions, that their hereditary attachment to the land had to contend with the fear of being unable to hold it without starving....It is hardly to be wondered at that the idea of private right in land should *in some places* grow weak and the people be more anxious to be allowed always to relinquish land that they could not manage profitably, than to have a title which would also carry a certain fixed responsibility. We shall see that in the *raiyatwari* provinces, this right of relinquish-

up with ancestral worship. If you compare the life as depicted on the Buddhist monuments 3000 years ago with the actual life of the

ment, *though now seldom resorted to*, is still a feature of the Land Revenue system of the British Government." (Ibid., pp. 125, 126, and 76).

If, then, in the *raiyatwari* villages of the Southern Presidency, (where the communal life under the hereditary headmen was tolerably well kept intact, although not in its old strength, because of agrarian oppression in unsettled times), it was not possible for the British Government, by reason of the ascendancy of feudal ideals of State-ownership and ideals of administrative centralisation,—to frame a system of land-settlement, which, instead of undermining, would have helped to strengthen and improve the village communal system,—how much more of a problem it was for the Government to stand forth as the champion of the communal system in the Bengal villages at a time when it had been overshadowed and almost overwhelmed by the growth of an illegitimate landlordism,—when, to quote Mr. Baden-Powell's words, "the growth of the Zemindars had obliterated the village rights, and the importance—except for purely local purposes—of the village grouping." (Ibid., p. 107). "That originally the Zemindar in Bengal was not in any sense a local landowner, but a revenue agent of the Muslim Government (except so far as he had private lands, or had as Raja some kind of territorial interest) cannot reasonably be doubted. His position depended on an official warrant which ran for his life only and that on condition of good conduct and subject to the pleasure of the ruler. That warrant contained nothing that indicated any grant of landed rights, nor was there any power of alienating any part of the area." (Ibid., p. 105). The right to the ownership of the soil thus originally belonged to the cultivating community of Bengal; but nevertheless for the reason that, during a century or more of powerful aggression on the part of the revenue agents of the Mogul Government, the village communalism of Bengal had been overshadowed by the power of the revenue-farmer,—it appeared both politic and right to the British Government—when they came to fix upon somebody who should be responsible to them for punctual payment of the land-revenue,—that the right of the revenue-farmer should be converted into the full right of the proprietor, to the displacement of the legal owners—i.e., the communal cultivators. "In Bengal, the Zemindar (revenue-agent of the Mogul Government) had obtained such a firm position as *middleman*, that it was considered not only just, but a matter of State policy, to give him a secure position; and this experience, backed by the 'landlord and tenant' ideas natural to English gentlemen of the eighteenth century, produced the feeling that there ought always to be *some one person* to whom the State should look for its Land Revenue, and to whom the State should in return give landlord rights to enable him to meet the responsibility.—It was considered insufficient merely to agree with the Zemindars for the amounts to be paid; it was determined that they must be recognised in a secure legal position with a heritable and transferable estate, in order that they might be able to realise the Revenue, and enjoy a substantial profit." (Ibid., pp. 150, 151, 157). Or, as Sir Henry Maine puts it,—"The English in India appear to have started with the assumption of the Mahomedans that the sovereign might lawfully elect anybody he pleased as the collector of his revenue; but they soon accepted the principle that the class to be "settled with" was the class best entitled to be regarded as having rights of property to the soil." (Maine's *Village Communities*, 1890; p. 152) "This was facilitated by the circumstance that in the central Zemindari districts the villages had never been (as far as can be traced) otherwise than of the *raiyatwari* type. The headman (*mandal*) soon lost his influential position, and became merely the subservient nominee of the (revenue collecting) Zemindar, and the raiyat easily fell into the general status of tenants," from the position of a land-owning class. (Vide Mr. Baden-Powell's *Land Revenue*, 2nd edn., pp. 107-108).

populace to-day, there is very little change to be discerned in the habits, customs, thoughts and arts of the people. India is not like Europe where the people change their dress with the season and where the

Or, as it is put elsewhere in the same book by the same writer—"The *raiyatwari* form of village was also the characteristic form in the greater part of Bengal, although there the importance of villages had been thrown into the shade, and the influence of village officers much broken down by the growth of Zemindars," under conditions imposed by a powerful aggressive individualism unchecked by a (tottering) central authority. (*Ibid.*, p. 71). In all the above, the reader will nowhere find a due appreciation of the duty of the State in its own interest to maintain, foster and develop, as far as practicable, the elements of the community system in a country like India. The "State policy" that was invoked, was of no higher standard than of mere administrative convenience, and had no particular regard for, or an appreciation of, those higher and far-reaching factors which would have effectively made for the stability and nationalisation of an alien Government. And the "justice" of recognising the actual fact—namely, the fact of an illegitimate landlordism which had made its appearance by powerful aggression, and which had sought to assure itself of security by seeking to disintegrate the vital centres of popular (communal) life in Bengal—is but a poor sort of "justice," speaking from the standpoint of a larger foresight,—when it is remembered that the evils arising from the absence of such vital centres in the body politic—that, in fact, the evils brought about by a growing disintegration of the village organism into a mere concourse of social atoms—have had to be combated on individualistic lines by a course of popular education in the sense of individual rights (which could be enforced by individual tenants against the individualism of the landlord in the British Courts),—have had to be combated also by various enactments declaring and amplifying such rights for the benefit of the individual tenants. The fact of the matter is that the Administration had not, at the time, (nor even has since), been able to get rid of the obsession that the interests of a people are best assured by building up a State-life on the basis of the recognition of individuals,—not communities—as social units; and all its "justice" and "policy"—the two factors which have been put forward as the reason why the landlordism was preferred to communalism in Bengal, by the early administrators,—must consequently partake of the fundamental limitations of the whole outlook.

"The new change," i.e., from the communalism of rural life to rural individualism, observes the author of the *Economic Revolution of India* "is euphemistically called the *development of the sense of individual rights*, and is regarded as an advance in civilisation, and will, we are assured, lead to the supersession of the old village system, by local boards and municipalities of the Western type." But the question is—demands the same authority—"Is the native population who is becoming more and more engaged in agriculture, losing the capacity for joint action? Is it invisibly passing into a stage of competitive animalism? Calcutta, Bombay, Cawnpore, and Karachi may fill an Englishman's heart with pride; but are the toiling millions up country the better, physically and morally for the existence of great trading marts? For after all, for the toiling masses the village must remain the only possible centre of co-operative life. Whether the blame lies with the violence of the Mussalman tax-gatherer and the Maratha horseman, or with the benevolence of the British administrator and progressist, it is admitted that over a great part of India *the one naturally evolved form of organisation has been losing its vitality.*" (*Ibid.*, pp. 168, 169, 167, 165, 166). Nevertheless, wrote the Famine Commissioners in their Report (1880), that "in most parts of India some village organisation exists which offers a ready and natural, though still imperfect, machinery for coping with famines, and it is of special importance

costume of one period would be as out of place with the costume of another as the political life of the people.

We have tried to change both the Hindu's Psychology and Sociology, but the result will never be known until Western Education infiltrates itself with the people. When the Pax Britannica first

that whatever is possible should be done towards improving and strengthening this machinery where it is present, so that it may become more thoroughly efficient for the purposes of village relief.....Native society is justly famous for its charity. It is owing to the profound sense which is felt by all classes of the religious duty of succouring, according to their means, the indigent and helpless who have claims on them as members of the *family*, the *caste*, or the *town* and *village*, that in ordinary times no State measures of relief are needed.For the future progress of the country, the encouragement of the principle of local self-government, by which business of all kinds should be left more and more to local direction, is of much moment, and nowhere more so than in dealing with the relief of local distress." (Ibid., pp. 162, 163, 158). To the above eloquent plea for maintaining, fostering and developing the natural and spontaneous communalism of India and not sacrificing the same in the pursuit of Western ideals of *individual* progress, and in the pursuit also of theories of State-life framed on Western individualistic lines—and not on lines of development of the community system (—for State life in India should grow along Indian lines by a process of a natural and ordered development based on solid communal foundations, and not on their destruction and ruin):—to the above eloquent plea we subjoin the following observations of similar import by the late Mr. Baden-Powell, I.C.S., and one of the Judges of the Panjab Chief Court, in his recent work on the *Indian Village Community*, from which we have so largely quoted.—"Village organisation is admirably adapted for facilitating measures of sanitation, drainage, local communications and education, provided such measures are not overdone and are kept to very simple and intelligent lines. In another important matter—the regulation of minor questions connected with canal or tank irrigation, the equitable distribution of the water, and so forth, the villages have of old been accustomed to manage for themselves; nor would it be difficult to form a union of such villages when necessary. It may be added that it is very probably owing to the village system that Indian provinces dispense with a Poor Law and feed their own indigent and helpless (rural) residents. It would be easy to enlarge on the facilities which the village organisation gives for the discovery and repression of crime; and I might describe the customs by which (in the Panjab, e.g.) cattle stolen and traced into one village must be traced beyond it again; or else the village becomes liable for the loss: these and other matters are connected with the 'village' as an institution; but I cannot go beyond the more directly *tenure* aspects of the question." (Ibid., pp. 442, 444). The authority from which we have just quoted gives, however, the warning that for purposes of village administration, the indigenous methods have to be followed and improved upon, but not replaced by any modern, imported system based on individualistic theories. Thus,—"It must be remembered, in schemes for local government by village agency, that while there is a natural tendency on the part of modern administrators to resort to the idea of a democratic and elective council, popular election in India (at any rate in rural districts) is still a very tender plant, and it is rare to find an election which means anything but the most unblushing sale of votes or the exercise of personal influence. The fact is that inspite of all modern and superficial aspirations, there is a strong underlying current of aristocratic feeling; and to ensure the success of village councils, and the like, it is essential that well-chosen and educated chiefs or presidents of *really respected family as well as of*

came in contact with India, it found a decayed, not a defunct, civilisation like that of Egypt, Babylon, Greece, or Rome, but one boasting of many useful Indigenous Institutions, and, above all, a beautiful and living Architecture. Our proper course would have been to treat the new or Western Civilisation as a continuation but improved continuation of the old. We could scarcely hope to uproot Institutions whose roots lay deep in the Soil and with the hoar of many centuries behind them ; but this is precisely what we have been trying all along to do and we have committed a great error. For, when progress is no longer a work of natural evolution, it ceases to be progress.⁴⁰ It is all very well to talk of an "onward and upward policy", but there is the danger of extinction or the bursting of the reservoir ; beyond a certain stage natives do not seem to advance. Most of us have read histories of India, but the tendency of the larger number of Europeans is to ignore that India ever had

local influence should be induced to become associated with them. Village councils left uncontrolled", in the present weakened state of village communal life, "would be a failure ; there must be a chiefship and an efficient supervision, which, however, must be exercised with such wisdom as not to deprive the *panchayet* element of real influence or of its self-respect." (*Ibid.*, pp. 442, 443). The growth of a true spirit of communalism, however, for which Mr. Baden Powell pleads, cannot, in the present ascendancy of individualistic ideals of social life over the thoughts and feelings of Western-trained administrators, be the result of mere legislative efforts ; for such efforts would, under the circumstances, inevitably correlate themselves to such ideals. What is more truly needed is to create among the Government a feeling and a conviction and an understanding that it is not a better administration merely that would be secured by the maintenance of the community system of India, but that the whole fabric of her moral, spiritual and social life is built upon communal foundations ;—that the destruction of India's communalism would create a problem of vastly greater and more complex magnitude and character than has been dreamt of ;—and lastly,—that by lightly experimenting with the life and destinies of a whole people in the name of individualistic progress, the Administration has taken upon itself tremendous risks, seeing that Western countries offer no encouragement in the matter, since they themselves are confronted with deep and extremely difficult sociological problems which are the outcome of social development on non-communal lines and on whose ultimate solution depends, it would be no exaggeration to say, the stability and permanence of Western social life and civilisation. On the other hand, "in India the village *still* includes all that we mean by the term church, community, and country. In its life the higher phases of Hindu existence have been developed ; beside its watering-places and beneath the shade of its trees, the prophets and poets, the artists and architects, the weavers and workmen of all kinds, have expressed in their words and work, the joys and sorrows, the hopes and fears, of their souls. If the life of the village is destroyed, Indian Society is in a state of spiritual dissolution and is only held together by the external force of an omnipotent Government which protects the *individual rights* it has itself bestowed, but *paralyses the sense of social obligations which have been handed down from the past*, and crushes the creative powers of the present." (Vide A. K. Connel's *Economic Revolution of India* ; London : Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1883, pp. 169-170)

—EDITOR, DAWN.

40. See page 145, footnote 26.—EDITOR.

a civilisation, or arts, of her own. We have greatly undervalued indigenous power, method, capacity and many other things and treated India as if we were dealing with some new settlement in Africa. Its people were supposed to be so ignorant that in the eighteenth century that some kind folks in England supplied them with custard apples, grindstones and bricks, all indigenous products. I have heard of educated men speak anything they found noteworthy in their arts, &c., as imported, as due to a foreign source. Others have laughed at them and forgotten that what Elphinstone says of Hindu literature is equally true of everything Indian. He remarked that if we only knew the *temperament of the people*, and the factor that educates it, what we find strange will appear true and beautiful. What is good for one country may be out of place in another. We must not judge India by our own Saxon Civilisation which borrowed from all quarters. We are the authors of a great and monumental work in India, but our fatal mistake has been to undervalue *indigenous power*. Because the Briton who as a race has no artistic instincts, and takes his arts from the Greeks, their law from the Romans, and is credited, if nothing else, for taking his religion from the Jews, men would try to judge India on the same principle; but they forget that Indian Civilisation came down as from a primitive fountain, and has been continuous throughout⁴¹. The Mahomedans, in many ways a destructive power, did exercise a temporary influence under Akbar, but it is simply laughable to imagine they taught arts and sciences to an old cultivated people like the Hindus. The Moslem has his own virtues, but the majority of our countrymen, whose knowledge of India commences with the period of Mahomedan rule, are inclined to take a perverted view of Hindu art; and for this reason their sympathies lie with a ruling and conquering race, like themselves celebrated for administrative talent. Not that

^{41.} Read in this connection the following observations made by Mr. Vincent A. Smith, the well-known author of *Early History of India*, in the course of a public lecture recently delivered at the request of the Anthropological Committee in the Hall of Exeter College, Oxford (—printed in *East and West* for June, 1913):—"Notwithstanding the innumerable invasions and immigrations through the north-western passes, and in a lesser degree from the north-east, the encircling seas and mountains kept ancient India apart from the rest of the world to an exceptional degree, and provided the opportunity for the development of a special, isolated type of civilisation." Of identical import are the following remarks contained in Mr. V. Smith's *Early History of India* (2nd edn., p. 5):—"India, encircled as she is by seas and mountains, is indisputably a geographical unit, and, as such, is rightly designated by *one name*. Her type of civilisation too has many features which differentiate it from that of all other regions of the world, while they are common to the whole country, or rather continent, in a degree sufficient to justify its treatment as a unit in the history of human social and intellectual development."—EDITOR, DAWN

either Mahomedan or Saxon administration, which multiplied individual rule, was superior from an economical point of view, to Hindu rule under their community government.

Do not let me be misunderstood as disparaging the power of race or a ruling race like the English, written in mighty achievements all over the world. We see proofs of this in their boundless energy, administrative genius, talent for commerce, their love of travel, their adoption of foreign arts, their incongruities, and, above all, in that excessive isolation and insularism which induces them to despise all nationalisms but their own. Undoubtedly there is an apology and a noble one, for the power of race, written in monuments of English justice, and in the amelioration of the people of India. England also rules by the power of contrast, and contrast is a lever that attracts everywhere. The Hindus, if they do not love us, value our rule for our uprightness, hatred of oppression, of bribery and corruption, qualities which do not always distinguish native rulers. But for all that, our insularity and want of sympathy is not the less regrettable. It proceeds, I say, from an exaggerated conception of racial power, coupled with an inability to see that what is good for one country may be out of place in the other. **The majority of my countrymen adhere to the belief that Western Civilisation aided by applied science and invention will, in the hands of a superior race, smooth away all difficulties in the path of assimilation.**

To show that I have not entered into an argument based on unwarrantable assumption, I will adduce some illustrations of *personal insularism*, with a view of asking the question whether with such a bias we may not commit ourselves enormously in serious matters. As is well-known, the hours we keep, the food we eat in India, are all contrary to the laws of hygiene. Doctors recommend a resort to a more vegetable diet, but to no purpose. A great improvement has taken place in dress, but I was a member of a regiment which was marched up country in sweltering European tunics. Even our amusements and pet fancies are not devoid of insularity. When we hear of custard apples having been imported into Bombay and grindstones into Chunar Fort, both indigenous products, is it to be wondered at that we should adopt foreign political theories and fiscal systems, equally to the detriment of the Indian Workman and the Indian Exchequer? Full of insular prejudices, we have underrated the capacity of the Indian Workman and Indian ingenuity.

Indian hereditary craftsmen and workmen believe in English rule and justice, but are little able to appreciate a foreign fiscal system⁴² and

42. It appears that the introduction into India of foreign fiscal methods and systems by all the authority that the Government of this country commands has not commended itself to an economic thinker and writer of such recognised weight and eminence

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feel that the Government have not given them that protection which is their birth-right, or any practical political representation to which they are doubly entitled ; and yet the proud boast of these men is that "adversity has never made them thieves ", that they have never torn down railings or entered into illicit combinations, but, on the contrary, have shown a stoic resignation under suffering, worthy of all praise. Our present role is that of great colonists and righteous rulers, *but without much of that missionary spirit which seeks points of agreement, not of antagonism*, and which placing itself alongside all a people holds dear, seeks the empire of the mind through the heart. Our true role would be the role of a great **protector**,¹³ for the power of

as Mr. J. A. Hobson, from the standpoint of the permanent interests of Britain's commerce and India's economic development. In his paper, "Opening of Markets and Countries" which was communicated to the First Universal Races Congress, held at the University of London, July 26-29, 1911, Mr. Hobson points out that "the best and most profitable development of trade for Europeans with the East has been with the countries where force has been least applied, and where European goods and arts have been permitted to make their way by peaceful penetration and appeal." And continues this authority,—"the too visible and ubiquitous display of force in India has been attended by undoubted injury to the commercial interests of East and West, alike in the degradation and decay of fine native arts and handicrafts, and in the economic and financial administration of the Country with too much regard to the *immediate* interests of Great Britain. The economic interests of peaceful, profitable commerce for the world will be best served in proportion as the adoption of Western arts of industry in Asia is left to the *free determination of the Asiatic peoples*. Whatever be the outcome of the industrialisation of the Far East, whether it gravitates towards the formation of an isolated, self-sufficing economic system, or cultivates strong permanent commercial intercourse with white nations, no sound economic or political purpose would be served by any endeavour of Europe or America to impose conditions on that development." (Vide page 232 of "Papers on Inter-Racial Problems," edited by G. Spiller, Honorary Organiser of the First Universal Races Congress : London, P. S. King & Son, 1911)—EDITOR, DAWN.

43. The need for the Government taking up the role of a great Protector was emphasised by Rev. C. F. Andrews, M.A., of Stephen's College, Delhi in the course of an address delivered under the auspices of the University of Cambridge at the opening, last summer, of the University Extension Lectures. Thus—"There is again the great constructive problem of the preservation of the indigenous life of the peoples over whom our rule is exercised. Are we as statesmen, or as educators, or as missionaries, prepared to see that indigenous life perish through our mis-handling ? Are we prepared to impose, reckless of consequences, our own Western forms of Government, culture and religion ? We are ready to disclaim loudly about the vandalism of the past. We do not realise that we ourselves are in danger of becoming vandals in our turn." (Vide p. 572 of the May, 1913 issue of the *Modern Review*, in which the address is reported in full).

* * * The role of protector of "all a people holds dear," for which Major Keith pleads, should, in the opinion of a living French statesman and Member of the French Chamber of Deputies, Mons. Joseph Chailley, form a most important part of England's "Native Policy" for India. In his very recent work, *Administrative Pro-*

nationalism no one can undervalue, and the more the Government touch a cord of nationalism, the more will they subserve real missionary effort, and the interests of true democracy which is the happiness of the greatest number.

blems of British India (translated by Sir William Meyer, B.A., K.C.I.E., I.C.S., Finance Member-designate of the Government of India : Macmillan & Co., 1910), we find a whole chapter devoted to a consideration of the scope and meaning of this question of "A Native Policy", i.e., a policy which endeavours, to adopt the language of Mons. Chailley, "to persuade the subject peoples that they, as distinguished from the European settlers, are the first care of the Government." The distinguished French statesman writes with a depth of conviction on the subject, and it is clear that this question of a true "Native Policy", for which Major Keith has argued with such consummate ability through the whole of a somewhat lengthy, but extremely valuable paper, deserves additional consideration at the hands of the Government, when it is found that such a sympathetic and friendly foreign reviewer of Britain's work in this country as M. Joseph Chailley finds it needful to pointedly draw the attention of the Government to the importance of the question of Britain's Indian Policy.— "The insistence", observes M. Chailley, "with which I have dwelt on this term, Native Policy, may astonish and weary my readers. Is there, they will ask, such an extreme difference between the Government of Asiatics and of Europeans? Both require from their Government security, justice, and facilities for obtaining wealth. To secure them these objects is a matter of elementary administration—why dignify it with the title of "Native policy", and distinguish problems which seem to be identical as between the two races? But such identity is superficial. There is, no doubt, a sense in which every act of Government for the benefit of its native subjects may be called a matter of Native policy—for instance, the construction of a railway, or a canal, the enactment of a code, or the establishment of a court of justice. We must, however, distinguish between matters of administration, such as these, and true Native policy. The latter endeavours to persuade the subject peoples that they are the first care of the Government, while mere administration has also to concern itself with the European settlers. Administration, again, confines itself to *material* objects ; a policy looks rather to *moral* interests. Now, while the material interests of the natives may sometimes coincide with those of the settlers, so that the same measures will benefit both ; this will never be the case in regard to their moral interests. Here it is necessary to take special and distinct steps in order to impress upon the natives that the Government thinks of them, and of them only. It is not enough to give them good administration, for they may ascribe the growth of prosperity to their own exertions ; they must be led to feel the benefits of foreign rule, and to accept instead of merely enduring it. That, however, is a difficult course. In the first place, it implies the desire and the capacity to study and comprehend the natives—to delve into their institutions, their sentiments, their motives, and their ambitions." (Ibid., pp. 206-207). The present contribution by Major Keith would, we are persuaded, go no little way,—if the Government should but give the necessary attention to the matter—towards helping them "to study and comprehend the natives." The attention of the reader is here also drawn to Footnote 26 in its *final paragraph* (pp. 148-149 *ante*) where we have attempted to bring out that in view of various considerations, the Government of the country, under the guidance of our present far-seeing Viceroy, and under the inspiration of our beloved and illustrious Emperor, have thought fit to inaugurate an improved Indian Policy, somewhat on the lines adumbrated by Mons. Joseph Chailley.—EDITOR, DAWN.

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Popular Reply.

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The Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine

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- #### i. Notes on the Education Problem in India--i Questions of Policy

Part II: Topics for Discussion

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PART I: INDIANA

NOTES ON THE EDUCATION PROBLEM IN INDIA—I QUESTIONS OF POLICY

I

The Indian Education Problem has hitherto been sought to be attacked from a non-Indian point of view. Towards the end of the second decade of the last century, under the impulse and inspiration of many and varied influences and ideals—missionary, political, economical, educational, philosophical and other—the idea that was gaining strength and currency in England among India's rulers was that India's destiny must be cast on an exclusively Western mould, and that her educational problem must be tackled so, that silently, steadily and persistently the thoughts, ideals and aspirations of her people, or at least (to begin with) the higher or better classes of her population, might be directed steadily towards the western goal. The educational policy that was thus started maintained its ground through almost the whole of the rest of the century. The mechanical view of life that held that society was but a physical aggregate of social atoms, the view that set little store by a people's *traditions* (and traditional institutions) as a moral and spiritual factor of great social value, as giving cohesion, strength and support to the social body politic—this inorganic, mechanical view of social life seems to have been in the ascendant for a long, long time since the second quarter of the last century. The value and force of tradition as the cement that spontaneously, naturally and effectively holds a society together—preventing it from falling to pieces or running to revolutionary lengths—this factor of social integration was not only not understood in the early parts of the nineteenth century, but it may be stated with some truth that it is even now not so well understood and

comprehended as it ought to be. The importance attached to the machinery of the State as the *deus ex machina* of modern life, and the exaggerated lengths to which the cult of the "individual", as a separated unit in the life of a society, has been pursued, are two of the most important circumstances that have prevented a proper understanding of the value of traditions in social life, and of the paramount need of conserving them with a view to ensure social stability. Thus, the educational problem in India has hitherto within the course of almost a whole century been understood either as a problem of how best to destroy all traditions of Indian life with a view to its future reorganisation on a Western model ; or, on the other hand, as a problem of how merely to write on the "clean slate" of the Indian mind (supposed to be happily devoid of all traditions) modern prescriptions of Western enlightenment and progress. In India there have been and there are political revolutionaries ; and similarly also there have been and there are Indian educational revolutionaries. These latter are those who would tear up by the roots Indian society and all its traditions and institutions which have served as a cement, in the hope and belief that out of the welter and chaos to which that society would be reduced by the destruction of all Indian traditions and ideas, should somehow arise the glorious fabric of the future civilisation of India, and a united and organised national life. In much the same way, the political visionary would dream of a rejuvenated India after the existing political order had been smashed into pieces and the reign of chaos had supervened ; for the great obstacle in his eyes is the subsisting vicious order. The theory of a mysterious process of progress issuing forth as a certain objective through the destruction of an order based upon traditions is as much the philosophic basis of the educational revolutionary as of the political. The idea of building up progress on the *ruins* of a society is as much the ideal of the political, as of the educational, revolutionary. Thus, one of our own men honoured alike for his great learning and for his spotless integrity of character, but whose grasp of sociological problems is unfortunately of the same order as that of the political revolutionary, made the following appeal to the assembled graduates of Madras at an Annual Convocation of the Madras University held on 19th March, 1908 : "Everything is in your favour. For a hundred years we have had a British Government, a foreign civilisation, at first deliberately and now steadily, and in spite of themselves, but with irresistible force, pulverising to atoms the repellent units of our society and forcing them into such close contact with one another *as is bound to generate sufficient heat to fuse all those elements into a homogeneous mass*, the social India

of the future . . . The present social condition of India is thus without a parallel in the history of the world Out of this *seething cauldron* is bound to arise the future Indian civilisation, and yours is the *magical wand* that will summon the new existence into the light of day." The Hon'ble Sir Sankaran Nair here relies for the success of his sociological experiment upon a convenient theory of "fusion" of social elements into a homogeneous whole after Indian society had undergone a process of disintegration and reduced to a huge mass of discrete, individual atoms,—relies upon a theory of "heat" generated in "a seething cauldron," and is supported by the presence of a super-physical entity with magical properties, the magician's "wand", the magician being in this case the graduate of an Indian University. Forgetting that society is not an aggregation of physical units, but is a higher complex, composed of entities possessing wills and emotions and held together by laws and forces and customs which require a very great length of time to take root, grow up and get assimilated into the body of the organism—in the shape of *traditions* which become the unconscious *heritage* of a people and the moral guarantee of social order and continuity without whose assistance all ordered growth and progress is impossible,—forgetting all this simple but fundamental factor of all social philosophy and science, Sir Sankaran Nair feels no scruple in witnessing Indian society reduced to a huge concourse of social atoms—reduced, in fact, to a state of unredeemed primitiveness, in order that through the mysterious interposition of some mysterious power and process the vision divine for which his heart craves—may take shape and emerge and get embodied in Indian Society,—which, however, in the meantime must have lost vitality and strength, by the loss and destruction of all those moral and spiritual ties and forces—in the shape of traditions and ideals—which had hitherto kept it intact and guaranteed its historical continuity. Almost identical views are held by the political revolutionary who could easily summon up any amount of physical and superphysical plausibilities of theories and metaphors to strengthen his hope and belief in the advent of a brighter day for India after she had gone through the necessary and purifying, if long-drawn, travail and ordeal of suffering and pain in the shape of anarchy and chaos following in the footsteps of *his* revolution. The following extracts from the Madras Convocation Speech by Sir Sankaran Nair might stand *almost* word for word as the declaration of the political revolutionary: "Do not look for contemporary approbation. Remember that the holiest names the page of history has consecrated are those who defied public opinion. Remember that no great result has been achieved, whether by

individuals, or by nations, without sacrifice A revolution in social life is bound to produce acute suffering, in its authors as well as in its victims, but without suffering there can be no progress. I am quite prepared to admit that some social confusion, perhaps social anarchy, may have to be endured before the new order of society settles down permanently, and the new forces are cemented together ; but, believe me, it is the storm that clears the air. If such works frighten you away from reform all I can say is, you are not worthy of the priceless inheritance bequeathed to all those who speak the English language by the great Englishmen of old." And Sir Sankaran Nair from his exalted pedestal, delivering a Convocation Address for the University of Madras, explains how the British Government has been and is smoothing the way for the success of his revolutionary propaganda. Thus : "So far as South India is concerned many obstacles are being removed ; with a redistribution of landed property in the wake of the British conquest, and the intrusion of the official into the place occupied by the Raja or Zemindar between the ruler and the ruled, the influence of the great Zemindars began to decline. With that decline and the advance of English education, the ancient priesthood of India also began to lose their hold upon the people. The influence of these classes is still not despicable, but it is a decadent and dwindling influence. The village community too as a living force is gone. These three, the great landholders, the priests, and the village community were in ancient days, as it were, the three estates of the realm, which swayed the moral and political destinies of the country. They were all powerful forces making for conservatism, if not for reaction, both in Hindu and in Muhammedan society, and the policy of the British Government, consciously or unconsciously, has driven them out of active life, and thus materially smoothed our path. It behoves us to follow up this enormous advantage, which is not of our making."

To some revolutionary spirits the world started afresh from 1789, or some other Year One ; before that date appear the monstrous forms of tyrannies and superstitions which "tare each other in their slime." Then of a sudden were born light and love, freedom and truth :—

" This is the day which down the void abyss,
" At the Earth-born's spell, yawns for Heaven's despotism,
" And conquest is dragged captive through the deep,
" Love from its awful throne of patient power
" In the wise heart, from the last giddy hour
" Of dread endurance, from the slippery, steep,
" And narrow verge of crag-like agony springs,

" And folds over the world its healing wings." *

"The loathsome mask has fallen. The man remains—

" Equal, unclassed, tribeless, nationless,

" Exempt from awe, worship, degree, the king

" Over himself; just, gentle, wise: but man."**

Such is the revolutionary idea of progress, which is founded not on the spirit of order and ordered growth, but on the spirit of destruction,—which would break down old barriers and conventions, disendow a people of all those permanent institutions which have hitherto served definite ends, without a clear scheme, or even any remote conception, of how those institutions should have to be replaced by others to serve similar or better ends,—which would *first* destroy the very framework and all corporate traditions of the social body politic and reduce it to a state of atomic primitiveness, in search of an abstraction,—an abstract scheme of social rebuilding. And Sir Sankaran Nair and many like him who strangely mix in their moral and mental composition something of the revolutionary enthusiasm of the later 18th and early 19th centuries, with something of the enthusiasm of the philosophical Radicals of the mid-Victorian era, to whom, as Mill has pointed out in his "Autobiography",—"aristocratic rule was the object of their sternest aversion," and "an established Church or corporation of priests, as being by position the great depravers of religion, and interested in opposing the progress of the human kind, was, next after aristocracy, the most detestable of things";—Sir Sankaran Nair and others like him endowed with an ardent but destructive temperament would combine in their educational propaganda for the Indian Universities the ideals of the French Revolutionary Epoch (which would regard the past of India as a thing to be blotted out from memory), and the ideals of philosophical Radicalism, which would drive out of society the aristocracy and the priests as the greatest obstacles to the progress of the human kind in India.

II

The point of all this is that the educational methods in India, if they are directed steadily to the uprooting of the traditions of Indian society and civilisation, through the undermining of its traditional institutions by means of which the fabric of that society and civilisation has been reared up and maintained,—the point is that such educational methods must sooner or later, but sooner than later, and necessarily, give birth to revolutionary ideas in the field of Indian politics. The

* Percy Bysshe Shelley : "Prometheus Unbound."

"individual" *as individual*, is always a disintegrating factor in society ; and it has been discovered none too soon that only through the continual and unceasing action of the machinery of the modern State, is it possible to hold in check and in balance a community whose members would delight in the theory of a new-found creed of individualism as the sole basis of their endeavour, and who spurning at all traditions would swear by the doctrine of contract as the sole criterion of right and wrong in every sphere of human relations—aye, even in the sphere of that sacred and fundamental of human relations typified by the Family. Historical testimony and human reason undubitably support and confirm the proposition that, at however high a figure you may assess the value of State action as a factor in the preservation of law and order in a given community, the community would be always in a state of *unstable equilibrium*, when the forces of *traditional* ideals which are as it were the soul and cement to all societies have lost their hold on the community,—and in the place of the power of tradition is substituted the spirit of a naked individualism (and intellectualism) which could conceive of no higher object of homage and worship than that embodied in the doctrine of the freedom of contract. If it is admitted that State action forging rights and duties for "individuals" in modern Western society, and enforcing them at the point of the sword (whether through the machinery of the courts or otherwise),—if it is admitted that such State action is a potent instrument in the preservation of law and order in a Modern State,—the other factor stands out equally clear that the traditions of law and order, of *inherited* moral and religious life, in a given society—that such traditions handed down from generation to generation as a people's *heritage*—must in the last resort —when everything fails—come to the aid of that society to prevent its disruption from within. The traditions, indeed, because they are a people's collective *heritage*, supply the surest safeguards and guarantees of social stability and order, without which no advance would be possible in any society ; they supply, in truth, the moral cement—and strength to hold in check and in balance the disruptive forces that are perpetually in action within the bosom of a society in the shape of the egoistic impulses of individuals. If it is argued that the body of existing traditions of Indian society must give way to some thing better and stronger and nobler, the answer to it is that, assessing your proposals and intentions at your own valuation, you cannot jeopardise the very existence of the social organism by first seeking to destroy its traditions and ideals which are its cement and soul, unless at the same time, the approved body of new ideas and conceptions upon which you pin your faith have had time—and it takes quite a long

time—to take root and get assimilated into the social body politic. Your body of new ideas and conceptions which are to replace the indigenous ones must, in order that they may act as forces making for stability and order—and not for disintegration merely—themselves acquire the status of *traditions* in the old society permeating its life (and not merely affecting the life of a number of individuals and classes) before they could hope to serve the purposes of social integration. We are for the moment leaving out of account all arguments relative to the superior validity of the new conceptions of moral and religious life which you seek to introduce, or their superior efficacy in relation to the particular society which is to receive them. But our whole point is that your educational methods cannot (without involving you in a heavy responsibility in the process) lightly set aside—but on the contrary, must put great store by,—the existing body of traditions that have hitherto supported the social organism in its struggle with its environment, before it has become possible, through the silent growth of *traditions of the new order* for the organism to preserve itself as also its historical continuity. The arbitrary methods, so warmly approved¹ by well-meaning educational revolutionaries, of throwing everything into the melting pot to undergo a process of *preliminary dissolution* in order that a new society might some day crystallise out into shape, do not seem to us to be warranted by any approved historical precedents. On the other hand, the methods which we inveigh against are useful only as explaining our position that if our educational policy does not of set purpose make it its aim and business to safeguard the interests of social order and stability (independently of the operations of the legislature aided by the power of the sword) through the means and the aids provided by the existing body of indigenous traditions, then—the revolutionary and disruptive tendencies that are set in motion by the educational propaganda would ultimately affect the attitude of classes and individuals (left without the moral guidance supplied by indigenous traditions)—towards the State. The problem of “the raising up of loyal and honourable citizens for the welfare of the State” which Sir Valentine Chirol has quoted with approval in one of his famous Letters to the *Times* from a Convocation Address by Vice-Chancellor Sir Asutosh Mookerjee is, we contend, intimately bound up with the successful solution of another problem—namely, how to set the pace to Western education which, while introducing new ideas and ideals into Indian Society, may not inconsiderately or of set purpose uproot and undermine the ties and traditions which hold Indian society together. It does not seem even now recognised by many that the educational methods adopted by the Indian universities have been only one-sided

in their character, in that they have not hitherto sufficiently taken note of indigenous traditions as contributing to the forces of social order and stability—but, on the other hand, have, either consciously or unwittingly, but always in the name of progress and enlightenment,—set themselves to the task of undermining the very fabric of Indian society, by weakening its traditions, without being able in the meantime to foster and promote and create other *traditions* which would serve as a social cement. For, it has been declared by the highest authorities that the "New Ideal" * in University education in India is but the *beginning* of an attempt to create a *new tradition* through the machinery of residential colleges and residential universities, seeing that in the opinion of those entrusted with governance of the country, no adequate measure of success has attended the older attempts under the auspices of the affiliating type of Indian universities (hitherto almost wholly engaged in the task of distributing useful or utilitarian knowledge and learning)—to introduce conceptions of order and stability on new lines of social organisation after the old indigenous traditions, without much exercise of a discriminative choice, have been sought to be weakened. And it does appear to not a few that the declaration of Vice-Chancellor Mookerjee made in the Address read out before His Majesty the King-Emperor, in Calcutta, on the 6th of January, 1912, that the Indian Universities have been intended to serve as so many "centres of stability", while at the same time acting as "leaders in the great intellectual movement that is re-shaping India", was a little wide of the mark. And so we are supremely grateful to His Imperial Majesty for the new lead given to the Universities by the gracious pronouncement made in the course of His Majesty's Reply to the University Address—a pronouncement which undoubtedly represents the policy of the present Government of India—that "it is to the Universities of India that I look to assist in that gradual union and fusion of the culture and aspirations of Europeans and Indians on which the future well-being of India so greatly depends", and that "you have to conserve the ancient learning and simultaneously push forward Western science."

* The attention of the reader is here invited to the following sentences taken from the Address delivered by Lord Minto as Chancellor of the Calcutta University at the Annual Convocation held on the 14th March, 1908.—"I would impress on you that Dr. Mookerjee has assumed the reins of office at a turning point in the history of the University, for with its Jubilee, the University enters not only on a new chronological era, but on a new régime. I have no need to prophesy as to the future. Yet of this we may rest assured, we have embarked upon what has been very aptly called—“The New Ideal” in University education in India—possibilities are in the air which have not yet been moulded into shape—early conceptions of the aims of University education are giving way to the hopes of educational influence over social life—a thirst for practical knowledge, and for the wholesome advantages offered by residential colleges, is beginning to dim the momentary glories of successful examinations."

III

There is a great and permanent fallacy underlying the theory that the destruction of all distinctively Indian traits and traditions would lead to the permanent installation of a European type of character and the forging of new and stable bonds and ties between the rulers and the ruled. In the first place, the fact must never be forgotten that whatever the type of character, which would eventually arise, having any pretence to stability, must arise as the result of a process of development from within and in contact with the newer environment. The mere destruction of the older indigenous traditions and ideals by means of methods educational and other and under the inspiration of Western ideals—if indeed such a result could be completely accomplished—cannot inaugurate any new type of character,—of whatever pattern. It could only result in social retrogression or individualistic anarchy and disorder. If a new order, that is to say, an organic or organised order must arise, so that society might be held together not by the strength of an external military organisation, or of a despotic legislature acting in association with it, but by the natural and spontaneous operation and co-operation of internal moral forces working within the bosom of that society itself, then it is necessary that the newer forces should emerge and take shape and take root through a process of gradual and ordered development on the basis of an existing, older order. If these internal forces which would by a natural process add support and strength to the stability of a society be intended to be European or Western in their character and features, still this European character would have to be achieved through a process of natural and organic development of the Indian mind and ideals. The mere destruction or the suppression of the older type would not necessarily lead to the formation or creation of a newer and stable type, whether of a European, or any other pattern. And it is our contention that the interests of the stability of the Government are closely identified with a gradual assimilation of the newer ideals with the older, leading to a composite, ordered growth. The attempt at a suppression or destruction of the older ideals by all the means and resources at the disposal of an omnipotent Government—legislative, educational, economic, political, &c., &c., would, we contend, neither lead to any lasting Europeanisation of the people, nor add to those forces of stability and order in the country which would be aids to good government at the hands of our rulers.

The Government of this country has a very grave and difficult problem to solve—and it has to be solved correctly, alike in its own interest, and in the interest of the country itself. Towards the close of the second decade of the last century and onwards, the theory had

more or less got complete hold of the statesmen who were in charge of India's political destiny that, firstly, it was possible and practicable through the introduction of a sufficient dose of Europeanism in India to metamorphose India and her peoples—her character and traditions, since it was almost assumed, that such civilisation and traditions were in a dying or decadent condition, requiring only the impact of the stronger and more virile forces of life and thought and institutions such as were at the disposal of her rulers, to hasten and complete a process of decay and disintegration which had already spontaneously set in within the bosom of Indian society itself. And, secondly, it was taken for granted that such transformation which, however, it was assumed, would be more or less in the nature of a crumbling down of the ramparts of an ancient edifice which was rotten to the core,—that such transformation, if effected, would prove of lasting benefit to the Paramount Power. The power of resistance which India has shown to the sociological treatment that has so far been accorded to her—her refusal to go under, notwithstanding the strenuous onslaughts that have been dealt at her in the shape of attempts directed towards the absolute anglicising of her character—are phenomena of vital moment which have set the wiser statesmen at the helm to study the old problem in a strangely new light. If the transformation or metamorphosis of India could have been effected as the Court of Directors in the first instance, and latterly, Macaulay, and the framers of the Education Despatch of 1854 had hoped and desired,—if indeed the old civilisation and type of character which India had evolved through the ages under historical conditions was, at the time when European civilisation was sought to be introduced into India, really in a dying or decadent condition,—then of course a new race and type would have by this time arisen, and the political problem before the rulers would have worn a wholly different aspect and been capable of being better understood and better handled by them. As it is, the old walls have not fallen down, the transformation has not been so very rapid or so very marked as on *a priori* grounds, it was supposed it was bound to be; and as a consequence of a wrong diagnosis and wrong handling of the Indian problem, a complicated situation has arisen—a situation whose political bearings are of the anarchical sort. It is not the question of the loyalty of the many and of disloyalty of the irreconcilable few, that we are alluding to, but the point requires to be brought home that the situation that has arisen is at bottom revolutionary or anarchical in character. If you seek to dislodge a people from its old moorings and are half successful in the act and are unable to absorb the forces that are thus set free into an order of your own.

you necessarily come face to face with an amount of revolutionary energy which would be a source of danger not only to the community but also to the State itself. The aspect of the whole situation is, we say, revolutionary; for the old edifice has not rapidly gone down, and the new edifice that was to be has not yet taken any pronounced shape, and the older statesmen have to think out the whole problem afresh. It would be an error to conceive that the situation that has arisen is but part of a necessary process of transition, —which implies continuity and success of the methods that have been adopted. For the fact is, as has been admitted, that there was a miscalculation from the start as to the strength and vitality of the structure that was sought to be brought down, and so the old methods and standards are about to be abandoned in favour of newer ones to suit the realities of the case. The statesmen at the helm have set themselves to re-organise their whole policy and programme of education for India, for the old diagnosis about India which centred round the formula that her civilisation and culture was effete and decadent has not proved quite correct, and the problem has had to be studied and attacked afresh.* Such is the interpretation that must be given to the anxiety of the Government

* Read in this connection the following from a recent Convocation Address. . . “The narrowness of Lord Macaulay’s view of the objects of education in this vast country is strikingly displayed in his summary. ‘We must do our best, he wrote, ‘to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect.’ The complete anglicising of an interpreter class, whom Lord Macaulay contemplated, was evidently impracticable. We cannot by education transform the “intellect” of an ancient people, or re-construct their “taste” and “opinion” in exact accordance with foreign models. Even if such a proceeding were practicable it would be eminently undesirable, because a process of artificial conversion, *which takes no account of inherent genius and aptitudes* is more likely to injure than to elevate a native population . . . The permanent advance of a people can only be secured by the *agency of its own inherent capacities stimulated by education* suited to its needs. Western influence has certainly tended to modify the old customs of India; but *reconstruction cannot be said to have made marked progress*. . . At the time when Lord Macaulay proposed to begin the absolute anglicising of India, education in England was in a most unsatisfactory position. There can be little doubt that the greatly mistaken views of Lord Macaulay served to influence education in succeeding years. . . In deciding these vitally important points which lie at the root of a national system of education the *special characteristics of a people must be taken into full consideration*.—[From an Address delivered on 8th February, 1908, by Sir George Clarke (now Lord Sydenham) in his capacity as Chancellor at the Annual Convocation of the University of Bombay.]

Of similar import are the following observations of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P.—“Our educational methods were begun by a generation and by men who

to abandon the policy as set out in the Education Despatch of 1854—a policy which was associated with giving the old indigenous culture the go-by, while emphasising the saving virtues of mere knowledge—secular, utilitarian knowledge from the West—for the elevation of the standard not merely of the intelligence, but also the morals and character of the Indian peoples. Such, indeed, is the interpretation that must be given to the evident anxiety of the Government to introduce a scheme of residential colleges and residential universities to mould the scholar's social life and character through the influences of the developing *traditions* of such universities ; the anxiety of the Government also to frame measures for the moral and religious upbringing of the scholars under their control, and so on and so on—all directed, as it is explained by the authorities themselves, to help in the “formation of the character of the undergraduates under tuition.”*

IV

(A)

The problem of education for India as contemplated by our rulers is essentially a problem of the evolution of Indian Society under had no historical sense and whose sociological theories were based upon the assumption that every mind at the beginning is a blank tablet upon which anything can be written. Therefore our methods were too absolute. The education that we gave was not a graft upon Indian civilisation, but a transplanted slip of Western civilisation. “Our efforts,” said Macaulay, “ought to be directed to make natives of India thoroughly good English scholars.” The break caused was too evident. The educated was uprooted. He was taught to look upon his past with contempt, and to be an alien amongst his own people. He has had to revolt against us to regain his faith and his historical affinities.” (Pp. 215-16 of *The Awakening of India* Hodder and Stoughton London, 1910). We need only here add to Mr. MacDonald’s summing up that under missionary and other influences which represented India as a mass of tyrannies and superstitions, in every department of life—domestic, social and communal, and full of errors in religion, art and literature—the idea had taken root in the minds of English statesmen here and at home that an effete, ancient and obsolescent society and civilisation (as Indian society and civilisation were assumed to be) was bound to give way naturally and spontaneously at the first touch of enlightenment from the West. By way of illustration of missionary influence we quote from the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for July 1910, p. 86; and for October 1910, pp. 20-21, the following : “It was believed that if the India Government gave no support to any of the indigenous religions of the country, its inhabitants would sooner or later embrace Christianity” (*Ibid.*, July 1910). And again—“It was believed that if the British abstained from all support of the Indian religions the Indians would in a body embrace Christianity.” (*Ibid.*, October, 1910). The fuller extracts in the text may be looked up by the interested reader to understand the standpoint from which the attack on Indian Society and Civilisation was directed in the first half of the 19th century, by Christian missionaries whose standpoint, however, was representative of the times.

* *Vide* paragraphs 4 and 5 of the Government of India Resolution on “The Educational Policy of the Government of India”, dated 21st February, 1913.

the influences of Western ideals. In the foregoing pages we have sought to establish certain propositions which may be here summarily stated. We have attempted to show that the destruction of the indigenous ideals and traditions under the influence of Western ideals may disorganise and disintegrate a whole society without resulting in the building up of a new society on a Western model, that is to say, a society endowed with Western *traditions*: The result under such circumstances would be undoubtedly not only a social catastrophe, but also and necessarily the creation of a supreme danger to the State. We have further seen that even a partial destruction of indigenous traditions, under Western influences, leading to a correspondingly partial dislocation of an existing order would not of itself or spontaneously produce a new order based upon new traditions or ideals of a Western pattern. For, the growth of a new social order with any pretence to stability is practically synonymous with the growth of a body of new traditions—of whatever pattern—and the mere destruction, whether in whole or in part, of a body of existing traditions under foreign influences cannot of itself lead to the rise and growth of a body of new traditions. Thus, even the partial destruction of indigenous traditions and ideals—must also set free a certain amount of revolutionary energy which would continue to make its destructive influence felt until a fresh social order (following upon the progressive growth of a body of new traditions) should have emerged. Thus, the threefold view which has been sought to be brought out is that social order is bound up with the existence and development of a body of social traditions; and, secondly, that the destruction, whether in whole or in part, of indigenous traditions would not necessarily lead to the growth of any traditions of a new type such as would ensure social stability on a new basis, and lastly, that this destruction of indigenous traditions,—this loosening of the cohesive forces of a society—is bound to set free an amount of unrest and revolutionary energy which could not be permanently brought under control by the State, until and unless a new social order marked by the growth of a body of new traditions has definitely arisen.

The problem of education in India cannot, therefore, be one of merely destroying or undermining the existing indigenous traditions which are the foundations of the existing social order, and, consequently, also of political stability; for, we must repeat, such destruction would not of itself build up any sort of order—of whatever pattern, Western or other, since the foundations of such new order must be laid in a body of new *traditions* which would require time to take root and grow and get assimilated into the social body politic. The problem

of education in India accordingly is of a more constructive order; but the theory of destruction of an existing traditional order, to be automatically replaced by an order of a Western pattern had held the field for the last three quarters of the nineteenth century and educational programme and policy in India had accordingly moved in an altogether abstract groove. The possibility of the substitution of an imported system of culture and civilisation for the one existing in the land had almost down to the nineties of the last century haunted the imaginations of many of England's best administrators and statesmen, and been regarded as falling within the pale of practical politics. How in the place of the existing Indian indigenous traditions to substitute the social tradition and atmosphere created in the West by Christian Education in childhood, by Law founded on Christian Ethics and the traditions of the Graeco-Roman culture, by an Environment formed under the influences of Christianity (modified latterly by the forces of capitalism and commercialism), and lastly by an unwritten moral code which may be said to sum up the whole forces of tradition obtaining among our rulers in their own homes,—how to substitute such foreign type of culture and character in place of the existing one in India—was for a long time and is with not a few even now the constant source of inspiration and effort. And the problem was very much complicated by the strongly rooted belief among the administrators and statesmen in charge of India's political destiny during the better part of the last century that Indian civilisation and culture was in a dying and decadent condition, and that the virile forces of life and thought from the West needed only to have come in peaceful contact with this effete civilisation to hasten a process of natural decay and disintegration which had already set in. As we have already seen, this last theory was based on a miscalculation, but nevertheless the fundamental error remained that the problem of education for India was conceived to be mainly identified with imposing upon the Indian social organism an environment of a Western pattern, in order that such organism might be silently but steadily metamorphosed or transformed into the form and shape demanded by the British rulers of India. An ideal of education, which was *not* to be a mere mode of substitution of a foreign type of culture and character for the traditional indigenous one, but which was to be a process of development of the indigenous type *from within*, under the influence of, and through contact with, the newer environment from the West,—a process, in fact, of a gradual and natural growth and evolution under Western influences of Indian character and ideals and traditions—such as would preserve the moral, spiritual and historical continuity of Indian society and civilisation.

—such an evolutionary conception of Western education for India had not taken hold of the minds of our rulers during the last century and dictated their educational policy. Too much emphasis, unfortunately, was laid upon the environmental changes that were sought to be introduced through educational and other agencies, as constituting a decisive factor in the situation. The possibility of the social organism resisting the environment in its own interest of a more natural and stable growth, a growth more in harmony with the inherent genius and capabilities of the organism, was almost wholly left out of account. A supreme value was unconsciously attached to only one side of the problem, namely, that of the action of the environment upon the social organism in India—upon indigenous social life and culture,—and the problem of education for India was sought to be solved not by utilising, and directing, and regulating the forces of life working within the bosom of Indian society along evolutionary channels; but by seeking to impose upon the last a wholesale scheme of life of a Western pattern, under the idea and belief that the environment thus created would effectually dominate the whole situation and succeed in quietly establishing the permanent supremacy of the new scheme over the old.

(B)

But the problem of education is not all or merely a question of creating a certain environment for the social or the individual organism to be subjected to its influence. There is also the other and no less important or vital consideration: How far will the organism co-operate with the environment thus created? The reaction of the organism upon the environment is as much a factor in the case as the action of the environment upon the organism itself. It is a too common fallacy to imagine that the organism has no other function than merely to adapt itself to the environment, and to get modified, absorbed or assimilated in the process. The other alternative is that where the inborn qualities of an individual or a social unit are of a character which revolts at subjection to the particular environment amidst which it is placed, the organism sets itself to the task of moulding or modifying it to suit the necessities of its own special culture, its own genius, its own inherent characteristics. It is almost taken for granted that the duty of the individual organism is to subordinate itself to the environment—to "adapt" itself to the conditions imposed by the environment, for it is argued that such adaptation is the only way to escape extinction. The real truth, however, is that the environment exists or ought to exist as an aid to individuals in a society to afford opportunities for individual and social development along special lines characteristic of such individual and society. The environment is

there to aid the individual and the community at large, not to impede, hinder, or mislead. Thus, submission or adaptation to the environment may have to be resisted if the need should arise, in the interests of the organism itself, because such submission may not always lead to the deepening and enriching of all that is characteristic of, all that is vital or essential to, the life of the organism; since it is clear that from this deepening and enriching of the inner life alone proceeds all creative activity.

The bearing of all this on the educational policy and programme of the Government is that there is need to start with a clear conception as to whether the particular changes in the environment which are sought to be introduced by particular educational and other methods will ultimately react upon the Indian social organism in a manner consonant with its growth along natural, evolutionary channels: for otherwise such changes will be resisted and even thwarted (where the opposition offered by the newer environment be not too strong), or, in the alternative, merely submitted to, without producing a real transformation of character and ideals—a rebirth of society. An exalted scheme of British Imperialism may demand that Indian character should be reshaped and remoulded to suit the paramount needs of a world-wide British Empire. But the whole problem is—Should the changes in the environment that may be induced by all the forces of an omnipotent Government—be after all powerful enough to combat and conquer the inborn tendencies and aptitudes of the Indian races to follow certain *dominant* lines of growth, which have been further strengthened by an age-long process of traditional advance. "There can be no question," observes a living English publicist, "that the Japanese have easily made themselves heirs of the outward and material aspects of occidental civilisation and progress; but they boast that the heart is still Japanese. In other words, it is more easy for a nation to change its coat than to change its character. It is not an outward but an inward difference that the Americans regard as a menace to their civilisation and their institutions." This was written in reference to the agitation over the American attitude of aloofness towards the Japanese on the Californian land question, in connection with which there recently appeared in the London *Times*, a letter from the American Admiral Mahan which was supported editorially by the great London journal. The Tokyo Press opposed the contention of the American naval officer in regard to the alleged incapacity of the Japanese for assimilating Western civilisation and pointed to Japan's progress towards westernisation during the last fifty years as proof of the nation's ability to transform itself along occidental lines. The answer from the western point of view to the Japanese contention

is further brought out by the writer from whom we have already quoted, in the following words:—" What the Tokyo Press and the people of Japan generally fail to see, however, is that the incapacity for assimilation to which Western writers chiefly refer and which occidental people have, for the most part, in mind is not a material but a *moral* transformation."*

It does appear that only where the life, culture and civilisation of a society is in a dying or decadent condition,—in other words, only where the social organism, by reason of its interior rottenness, is powerless in the face of external conditions,—does the social organism get itself transformed into the shape and form imposed upon it by the environment. In all other cases, the organism is in a position to offer its choice, and either adapts itself willingly to the environment, because it is helpful to its growth, and so far as it is helpful; or, opposes the external conditions, endeavouring to mould them to its own purposes and perhaps succeeding in the attempt; or, lastly, it may succumb in the struggle against the forces outside, in which case the organism is merely suppressed, but not destroyed.

[PART FIRST ENDED]

* The extracts are from an article entitled *Japan under Criticism: An Outward Transformation* appearing in the Calcutta Statesman for August 10, 1913, being a reprint of a special article in the *Times of India*, Bombay.

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- Errata:**—*In the above article, on p. 199, line 10 (from bottom),*
after welfare of the State read , to use the phraseology
Also, in the same article, on p. 200, line 12 (from top),
for governance read the governance
Also, in the same article, on p. 201, line 7 (from top),
for must read it must
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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

We desire hereby to humbly express our thanks to the Publishers of the following valuable works for their courtesy in presenting us with copies of them.

- • 1. **Report on Modern Indian Architecture:** Being "Types of Modern Indian Buildings at Delhi, Agra, Allahabad, Lucknow, Ajmere, Bhopal, Bikanir, Gwalior, Jaipur, Jodhpur and Udaipore, with notes on the Craftsmen employed on their design and execution": Prefaced by a "Note on the Development of Indian

Architecture" by J. Begg, F.R.I.B.A., Consulting Architect to the Government of India, and a "Foreword" and "Notes" by Mr. Gordon Sanderson of the Archaeological Department: Plates 93 + Frontispiece: Published by the Government of India and printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Allahabad: Price R 9. or 13s. 6d., 1913.

2. **Indian Architecture: Its Psychology, Structure and History** from the First Muhammadan Invasion to the Present Day—By Mr. E. B. Havell. Double-Crown 8vo., pp. 260 + xx, with 130 plates: Published by John Murray, London, W., 1913: Price 30 s. (thirty shillings) net. [Vide Advt. in the *Dawn*, the present issue]

3. **Orissa and Her Remains**—By Manomohan Ganguli, B.E., M.R.A.S. With an Introduction by the Hon'ble Mr. J. G. Woodroffe, M.A., Judge, Calcutta High Court: Pages xx + 549; 38 Plates: Published by Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta; 1912: Price R 10. [Vide Advt. in the *Dawn*, Jan., Feb., and March, 1913]

4. **The Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanja** By Sj. Nagendra Nath Vasu, Prâchyavidyâmâhârâvâ, M.R.A.S., Editor of the *Vîrukoshâ*, Royal 8vo. Pages viii + 6 + cxlviii + 160 + xxii + 2: Illustration Plates 53, Inscription Plates 24: Price R 10: Published by the Mayurbhanja State, Orissa, 1911. obtainable also from the author, 20, Kantapukur Lane, Bagbazar, Calcutta [Vide Advt. in the *Dawn*, March and April, 1912]

5. **Tantra of the Great Liberation (*Mahânirvana Tantra*)**—A Translation from the Sanskrit, with Introduction and Commentary—By Arthur Avalon Royal 8vo.: Pages 359 + cxvi: Published by Messrs. Luzac & Co., London, W. C., 1913; Indian Agents: Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta. Price R 8. [Vide Advt., in the *Dawn*, the present issue]

6. **Hymns to the Goddess** (Translated from the Sanskrit)—By Arthur and Ellen Avalon, Royal 8vo., Pages xvii + 179: Published by Messrs. Luzac & Co., London, W. C., 1913: Indian Agents—Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta. Price R 4. [Vide Advt., in the *Dawn*, the present issue]

7. **The Britannic Question**: A Survey of Alternatives —By Richard Jobb, Author of "Studies in Colonial Nationalism", "The Imperial Conference", etc.: Double-Crown 16 mo.: pages 262: Published by Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1913; Price 1s. 6d. *

8. **Tod's Annals of Rajasthan (Mewar)**—By Mr. C. H. Payne, M.A., Crown 8vo.; pp. 216, 16 Plates and a Map: Published by Messrs. George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., London. Price 3s. 6d., net.

9. **গোড়ারজবালি** (in Bengali)—By Sj. Rama Prasad Chanda, B.A.; with an Introduction by Sj. Akshoy Kumar Maitra, M.A., B.L.: Double-Crown, 8vo., pp. 18 + 78: Published by বৰেন্দ্ৰ-অৰ্বসক্ষান-সমিতি, বাজমাটী, (Barendra Research Society, Rajshahi). Price R 2.

PART III

SECTION I : INDIAN EDUCATIONAL AND ALLIED MOVEMENTS

INDIAN ARCHITECTURE

[*Being the Substance of a Lecture with lantern slide illustrations, delivered some time ago by Mr. E. B. Havell in The Little Theatre, London, under the presidency of the Earl of Plymouth.*]

1. Before I show you the slides with which I am going to illustrate the work of the Indian master-builders, past and present, I will try to state briefly and concisely the real issues which have to be determined in the building of the new Delhi. Many people seem to think that the vital issue in the whole case is what has been called a problem of "style"—and that in this connection there is a conflict between the interests or the ideals of India and of Great Britain. It is a thousand pities that any such conflict should arise or be suggested, but the reasons for it only exist in the minds of those who shut their eyes to patent facts and bring totally irrelevant side-issues into the debate.

2. The plain facts are that for several centuries in Europe—or since the intrusion of the antiquarian into affairs of the practical builder—building has, for the most part, ceased to be an art and become as much a mechanical operation as the making of gramophones and grind-organs. So instead of a living school of architectural art in which national historical traditions and culture express themselves spontaneously through the intelligence of highly skilled handcraftsmen,—as much in the laying of bricks and setting of stones as in architectonic design or in fine sculpture and painting, we have on the one side a school of archaeological designers disputing about methods and certain academic abstractions called "styles," and on the other side a body of mechanical artificers who put up machine-made buildings not according to art but according to patterns of style—like the fashions of the milliner.

3. I will not enlarge upon the disastrous effect which this degradation of a noble art has upon social life and upon the creative powers of the nation at large, but I think it must be clear to all thoughtful people that the reduction of a large class of skilled craftsmen to a state of intellectual serfdom must lower national vitality and check the moral and spiritual progress of the whole community. A living national art is a great educational force, acting as a constant stimulus to national vitality and storing up in the mentality of the people an ever-increasing reserve of creative power which manifests itself in the

work of coming generations. The wonderful progress which Europe has made within the last few centuries in the direction of mechanical invention is the manifestation of the reserve of creative power stored up by the craftsmen of the Middle Ages. But the indiscriminate and reckless application of mechanical power to all forms of activity leads only to national suicide ; for by killing handicraft, it restricts higher intellectual effort to a comparatively small section of the community and makes the vast majority incapable of adding to the national reserves of creative energy for the benefit of our posterity.

4. Now in this question the interests of Great Britain and of India are absolutely identical. The craftsmanship of India is a part of our Imperial assets. The building of the new Delhi is, therefore, not a problem of style, but a problem of using Indian craftsmanship to the best possible advantage for the good of the whole Empire. I am quite willing to admit the force of the argument that this is an occasion on which the paramount power should manifest its supremacy through its art. But it is cynical selfishness or utter foolishness to say that on that account we must ignore the living art of India.¹ There are plenty of instances in history of deliberate ruthless vandalism in the passion of warfare or religious strife, but none in which a great civilised nation deliberately and advisedly as a matter of State policy used its power over a subject people to prevent a free use of their artistic capacity. Greece did not do so in Egypt. Rome did not act thus in Greece. Muhammadan conquerors in India began by destroying Hindu and Buddhist temples, but ended by using Indian temple craftsmen to create for them the great architecture which is most inaccurately and unhistorically called Indo-Saracenic.¹

I. Mr. Havell insists on this idea in the following quotation which we make from his paper on *Indian Builders and Public Works Architecture* submitted to the All-India Industrial Conference, held at Calcutta, towards the end of December, 1911, and reprinted in the *Hindustan Review* for January, 1912. "Although the Moguls brought into Indian architecture notions of greater spaciousness and decorative simplicity to which the Hindu builders readily adapted themselves, the new development of it under Mogul rule came not from the teaching of Muhammadan builders, but because they directed the skill of Hindu builders into new channels" (p. 17). So also in chapter vii (pp. 118-121, and pp. 140-141) of his "The Ideals of Indian Art" (John Murray, 1911) we read :—"Anglo-Indians have always ascribed the artistic triumphs of the Indian Mogul dynasty to the superior aesthetic genius of Islam ; but this is a quite untrue reading of Indian art history. They should rather be attributed to the wonderful State-craft of the freethinker Akbar in rallying round his throne all the hereditary artistic skill of Hindustan, and in building up his empire with the *Bhakti* of Hinduism in much the same way as the Mikados of Japan used the national cult of Shintoism to strengthen their own dynasty. The Moguls in China, in Persia, in India, and wherever else they went,

5. Let us admit freely that the Paramount Power in the present instance has the full right to use its best artistic capacity : the question is,

assimilated the art of the races they conquered. The art of Fatehpur-Sikri and of Jehangir's great palace at Agra is essentially Hindu art. Abul Fazl, writing with full appreciation of contemporary painting, says of the Hindus : 'Their pictures surpass our conception of things. Few, indeed, in the whole world are found equal to them.' Even in the Taj Mahall, the typical masterpiece of what we call Mogul art, many of the principal craftsmen were Hindus, or of Hindu descent ; and how much Persian art owed to the frequent importation of Indian artists and craftsmen is never understood by European art-critics. The splendid Muhammadan architecture of Bijapur derived much of its grandeur and beauty from the skilful adaptation of Hindu principles of construction and design. All the great monuments of Saracenic art in India surpass those of Arabia, Turkey, Egypt, and Spain, in the exact measure by which they were indebted to Hindu craftsmanship and inspired by Hindu idealism. The mosques of Cairo and Constantinople seem almost insignificant in design and feeble in construction compared with those of Bijapur, Delhi, Fatehpur-Sikri, and Ahmedabad. The painted stucco and the geometric ingenuity of the Alhambra are cold and monotonous beside the consummate craft and imagination of the Mogul palaces in India. Saracenic art flourished in India just so long as the Mogul Emperors were wise enough to observe perfect impartiality between Musalman and Hindu. When the bigot Aurangzib expelled all the Hindu artists and craftsmen whom his father and grandfather had attracted to the service of the State, the art of the Moguls in India was struck with a blight from which it never recovered. Even in the present day all that is most fine and precious in living Indian art is found in the art inspired by this same *Bhakti* produced by the descendants of the hereditary Hindu temple architects and craftsmen whom Akbar the Great enlisted in his service to carry out all his public works, the imperial palaces, and mosques, as well as durbar halls, offices, stables, and irrigation works. The quality of their craftsmanship is generally in no way inferior to the work of the Mogul time ; what they lack are the opportunities given them by the Moguls which we have hitherto refused to them." (Ibid., pp. 118-121).

Again on pp. 140-141, of the same work :—"In architecture, Hindu idealism received a fresh impulse through dealing with new constructive problems, and Islam added to its prestige by the magnificence of the mosques built with the aid of Jain and Hindu temple craftsmen. Indian Saracenic architecture testifies not so much to the creative genius of the Moguls as to their capacity for assimilating the artistic culture of alien subject races. Christianity might have advanced much more rapidly in India if its leaders had not, with the puritanical intolerance of Aurangzib, refused to allow the genius of Indian art to glorify Christian Church."

A detailed and thorough demonstration and exposition of the idea that what is regarded as Indo-Saracenic Architecture is Indian to a much greater extent than it is Saracenic or Persian, forms the principal theme of Mr. Havell's latest work entitled *Indian Architecture, its Psychology, Structure, and History from the First Muhammadan Invasion to the Present Day* : (John Murray, London, : 1913 ; Price 30s. net). In this monumental work there is a masterly study of the whole subject of Indian Architecture, Hindu as well as Muhammadan, during the Muhammadan period of Indian history, and the author has demonstrated by an analysis of the characteristic features and details of what are known as the thirteen Indo-Saracenic styles, how all of

—Shall we show that capacity by ignoring Indian craftsmanship or by making the best possible use of it? For answering that question we must consider without pride or prejudice the comparative state of the building craft in great Britain and in India. With regard to the former we have lately had an authoritative statement. A short time

them are adaptations of Hindu, Jain or Buddhist ideas, rather than importations from abroad. We here quote a few illustrative passages from the book : (*Ibid.*, p. 2)—“For the vital creative impulse which inspired any period of Indian art, whether it be Buddhist, Jain, Hindu, or Muhammadan, one will only find its source in the traditional Indian culture planted in Indian soil by Aryan philosophy, which reached its highest artistic expression before the Mogul dynasty was established, and influenced the greatest works of the Muhammadan period as much as any others. The Taj, the Moti Masjid at Agra, the Jami Masjid at Delhi, and the splendid Muhammadan buildings at Bijapur were only made possible by the not less splendid monuments of Hindu architecture at Mudhera, Dabhoi, Khajuraho, Gwalior, and elsewhere, which were built before the Mogul Emperors and their Viceroys made use of Hindu genius to glorify the faith of Islam.”

“The Anglo-Indian and the tourist have been taught to admire the former and to extol the fine aesthetic taste of the Moguls ; but the magnificent architectural works of the preceding Hindu period, when Indian sculpture and painting were at their zenith, but rarely attract their attention, though in massive grandeur and sculpturesque imagination they surpass any of the Mogul buildings. Even the term ‘Mogul’ architecture is misleading, for as a matter of fact there were but few Mogul builders in India. The great majority of the builders employed by the Moguls—including not only the humbler artisans but the master-minds which directed them—were Indians, or of Indian descent. Some were professed Muhammadans, but many were Hindus. Mogul architecture does not bear witness, as we assume, to the finer aesthetic sense of Arab, Persian, or Western builders, but to the extraordinary synthetical power of the Hindu artistic genius.” (*Ibid.*, p. 3.)

So also on p. 13 we read : “Of the thirteen local divisions of Indo-Muhammadan architecture enumerated by Fergusson, those of Gujarat, Gaur, and even that of Jaunpur in spite of its pointed arches, are so conspicuously Hindu in general conception and in detail that it is evident at first glance that the builders and craftsmen must have been almost entirely Indian, and probably many of them Hindus. The Jami Masjid and other mosques of Ahmedabad are, as Fergusson says, “Hindu or Jain in every detail,” only here and there an arch is inserted, not because it is “wanted constructively, but because it was a symbol of the faith.” At first sight, the essential Indianness of the remaining Indo-Muhammadan styles, as classified by Fergusson, is not so apparent. In two of the most important, namely, the Mogul and Bijapur styles, Fergusson and all other writers have ignored the Hindu element entirely and treated them both as foreign to India. Here, I think, they are as mistaken as the archaeological experts who have attributed the inspiration of Indian sculpture to the Graeco-Roman craftsmen of Gandhara. It is Indian art, not Arab, Persian, or European, that we must study to find whence came the inspiration of the Taj Mahall and great monuments of Bijapur. They are more Indian than St. Paul’s Cathedral and Westminster Abbey are English.” Again, on p. 21 :—“There can be only one explanation of the manifest architectural superiority of Muhammadan buildings in India to the monuments of Saracenic art in other parts of the world, whether it be in

ago an announcement appeared in *The Times*² that an influential Committee called the Beaux Arts Committee of London had been formed. It includes many distinguished French and British architects and two of the experts³ who have been called in to advise Government in the matter of the planning of the new Delhi. The object of this Committee is to introduce into this country the system of teaching architecture followed in the ateliers⁴ of Paris, *as the first necessary step towards placing the architecture of Great Britain upon a sound theoretical basis.*⁵ That is an admission from the highest technical authorities that the great building tradition of this country is practically extinct. England must apparently go again to France, as she did in the Middle Ages, for instruction in the art of building. If so, the logical sequence would be to allow French architects to build the new Delhi for us. But is this really necessary? Are we not, as usual, wasting our Imperial opportunities?

6. Thirty years ago, Fergusson, the great authority on Indian architecture, wrote that "architecture in India is still a living art, and there is no other in the world which can compare with it." It is that in the eighth and ninth centuries of the Christian era, the time of the first Muhammadan invasions of India, the Hindus were—as both Alberuni and Mahmud of Ghazni bore witness later—the master-builders *par excellence* of Asia, and probably of the whole world. The impact of Islam upon India brought new ideas and stirred Indian builders to new creative efforts, but Hinduism was as superior to Islam in the arts of peace as Islam was to Hinduism in the arts of war. The Arabs, Tatars, Mongols, and Persians who came into India had much to learn from Hindu civilisation, and it was from what they learnt and not from what they taught that Muhammadan art in India became great. The Taj Mahall belongs to India, not to Islam."

2. *The Times* (London), January 3, 1913.

3. Mr. Edwin L. Lutyens, A.R.I.B.A., and Mr. H. V. Lanchester, F.R.I.B.A.

4. *Atelier*—an artist studio in which pupils are trained in any art. "An International Beaux Art Committee of London," we learn from *The Times* (January 3, 1913), "has been formed to establish ateliers of architecture in this country on the lines of the studios associated with the 'Ecole des Beaux Arts' in Paris. A number of French architects are co-operating with their British *confreres* in introducing into England the Beaux Arts method of training and are assisting in the preparations for opening the first atelier in London." It is necessary to add that the 'Ecole des Beaux Arts' of Paris is a principal institution in France for art education and is under the direction of the Minister of Fine Arts and divided into three sections, those of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture.

5. This portion in italics gives the official view of the Beaux Arts Committee of London and not the individual opinion of Mr. Havell, being taken *verbatim* from *The Times* report of the scheme as explained by the Honorary Secretary of the London Committee, Mr. R. Goulburn Lovell, A.R.I.B.A., who "pointed out that the plan was to introduce the French system of teaching, and in order that the proper atmosphere may be imparted, the direction would be in the hands of Beaux Arts men. The Committee felt that there was no recognised system of

alone the student of architecture has a chance of seeing the real principles of the art in action."⁶ He confessed that he had learnt more practical architecture from watching the modern Indian builder at work than from reading all the text-books of Europe.⁷ If one could only inspire the natives with a feeling of pride in their work, he said, there seems little doubt that even now he could rival the works of their forefathers.⁷ "No one," he added, "who has personally visited the objects of interest with which India abounds can fail to be struck with the extraordinary elegance of detail and propriety of design which pervades all the architectural achievements of the Hindus, and this not only in buildings erected in former days but in those now in course of erection in those parts of the country to which the bad taste of their European rulers has not yet penetrated."⁸

7. In plain words, the whole proposition is that British architects are justified in applying to their French brethren to pull them out of their archaeological quagmire into which they have fallen, but rather

teaching design (in England) and the establishment of the definite principles of the Beaux Arts atelier was the first necessary step towards placing architecture on a sound theoretical basis."

6. Vide *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* by Dr. James Fergusson, D.C.L., F.R.S., &c., &c. (London; John Murray) 1899 edition, pp. 5-6; or 1912 revised edition, (under the editorship of Dr. James Burgess), vol. I, pp. 5-6. The passages to which reference is here made by Mr. Havell are the following . . . "But more than this, architecture in India is still a living art, practised on the principles which caused its wonderful development in Europe in the 12th and 13th centuries; and there, consequently, and there alone, the student of architecture has a chance of seeing the real principles of the art in action. In Europe, at the present day, architecture is practised in a manner so anomalous and abnormal that few, if any, have hitherto been able to shake off the influence of a false system, and to see that the art of ornamental building can be based on principles of common sense; and that when so practised, the result not only is, but must be, satisfactory. Those who have an opportunity of seeing what perfect buildings the ignorant uneducated native of India are now producing will easily understand how success may be achieved, while those who observe what failures the best educated and most talented architects in Europe are constantly perpetrating, may, by a study of Indian models, easily see why this must inevitably be the result. It is only in India that the two systems can now be seen practised side by side—the educated and intellectual European always failing because his principles are wrong, the feeble and uneducated native as inevitably succeeding, because his principles are right. The Indian builders *think* only of what they are doing, and how they can best produce the effect they desire. In the European system it is considered more essential that a building, especially in its details, should be a correct copy of something else, than good in itself or appropriate to its purpose; hence the difference in the result."

7. Vide Dr. James Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 1899 edition, p. 475; or 1912 revised edition, vol. II, p. 169.

8. *Ibid.*, 1899 edition, p. 488; or 1912 revised edition, vol. II, p. 185.

than allow Indian master-builders to help them, they should try to pull them into it also. How this can be reconciled with the best traditions of British administration in India I must leave others to explain. The Highest Authority in this land has lately given to India a Message of Hope and goodwill. Surely then it is the bounden duty of British architects to join with Indian builders in making the new Delhi an enduring monument of these generous sentiments : in using art as neutral ground upon which East and West can reconcile their differences, instead of continuing to entrench themselves behind the walls of prejudice, seclusion and mutual distrust. Architecture may be a profession, a business, an amusement or a fashion, but it can never be a living art unless it is deep-rooted in the soil in which it grows.

8. The practical means of making the best use of the Indian master-builder's intelligence and skill is a technical question which need not be discussed now, but I would commend it to the serious consideration of the London Committee of Beaux Arts. There is no special technical difficulty connected with it which does not occur in Europe. The fundamental principles of the art of building are the same in India as they are in Europe. The same methods which must be adopted by the architect in London to revive the traditions of good building crafts here apply also to the preservation of their vitality in India. The architect who has a thorough grasp of sound architectural principles generally will have no more difficulty in applying them to the study of the classical models of India than he has in the case of European models. In many ways the Indian problem is a much easier one to solve than the English one. It is easier to keep a living craft alive than to re-vitalize a dead one. It is much easier for the European architect to work sympathetically with Indian builders, so as to secure their intelligent and willing co-operation, than it is to work against them when they are dull mechanical copyists. This is not a question of Indian styles *versus* European styles, but of sound architectural principles against unsound archaeological formalities ; of a living art against a dead one ; of a true Renaissance against a false one ; of practical craftsmanship against dilettante theories ; of real artistry against the shams and deceptions of fashion and of taste.

(AFTER SLIDES)⁹

9. A short time ago the Government of India instituted an official enquiry into the present state of the Indian building craft, but these

9. A considerable number of photographs of buildings, erected since the middle of the 19th century by the indigenous master-builders, have been reproduced in Mr. Havell's recent work on *Indian Architecture, its Psychology, Structure, and History from the First Muhammadan Invasion to the Present Day*, (John Murray,

materials for enlarging upon the subject are not yet available.¹⁰ I hope I have at least made clear to you that public opinion has been grievously misled with regard to the condition of Indian architecture in the present day. The examples you have seen prove up to the hilt that beyond the middle of the nineteenth century India could build for herself without European supervision, as well as Europe built in the Middle Ages:—that India then possessed a great school of living craft such as Europe has not known for many centuries, with all those vital qualities which enable a great tradition of living craftsmanship to *adapt* itself to the needs of the time in which it lives. I have shown you that building is still one of the most vital of Indian handicrafts, especially in parts of India which are out of the tourist's beaten track, and that there is to be found an abundance of fine architectural craftsmanship such as does not exist anywhere in Europe at the present time. If the evidence on this point is not so strong as it might be, it is not because it cannot be produced, but because no one nowadays thinks it worth while to

London, 1913) The following plates in this work are representative of modern Indian work:—

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| Plate | cxx—A Merchant's House, Bikarai. |
| " | cxi—Buildings at Jodhpur. |
| " | cxiv—A Modern Indian Palace, Marwar. |
| " | cixv—A Modern Indian Palace, Munshi Ghât, Benares. |
| " | cxi—A Modern Indian Palace, Ghuslâ Ghât, Benares. |
| " | cixvii—A Modern Hindu Temple, Brindaban. |
| " | cixviii—A Modern Hindu Temple (Durga Temple, Benares). |
| " | cixix—Modern Indian Sculpture (Temple at Ramnagar, Benares). |
| " | cixx—Modern Indian Sculpture, (Ahmeti Temple, Benares). |
| " | cixxi—A Modern Master-builder's Bridge, Lashkar. |
| " | cixxii—Street in a Modern Master-builder's Town (Lashkar). |
| " | cixxiii—Details of Buildings, Lashkar. |
| " | cixxiv—A Modern Chhatri, Lashkar. |
| " | cixxvi—A Modern Master-builder's Railway-Station (Alwar). |
| " | cixxvii—Modern Indian Sculpture, Puri. |
| " | cixxviii—Veranda of a Modern House, Puri. |
| " | cixxix—Gateway of a Modern Temple, Benares. |

The collection of photographs reproduced in this book may presumably be taken to have been included among those shown in slides by Mr. Havell at his Lecture in the Little Theatre, London. We may note that Mr. Havell's book was published before the Government Report on Modern Indian Architecture embodying the results of the official enquiry into the subject was published [*vide* paragraph 9 of this article and the "Supplementary Note" on pp. 25 etc.]. We are, therefore, indebted to the independent efforts of Mr. Havell himself for the photographs and other materials—throwing so much needed light on the question of the work of modern Indian Master Builders,—which have been made available to us through his most valuable and recent work on "Indian Architecture."

10. *Vide Supplementary Note*, pp. 25 etc.

photograph a building unless it is at least fifty years old. However, in a few months' time I hope the material now available will be largely supplemented by the official investigations now being made.¹¹

10. I hold no brief for the Indian Public Works Department, but I have never, like the advocates of a Renaissance Delhi, charged against it that it has so maladministered its official architectural monopoly that in 30 or 40 years it has destroyed the splendid indigenous building tradition of India, or rendered it incapable of serving the public purposes of the present day as it has done in the last 2,000 years. On the contrary, I know that Public Works officers both in British India and in the Native States have been alive to the possibilities of maintaining this great tradition, and there are not a few with long practical experience in India who will bear me out in asserting that if the Government of India will at last make up its mind to establish a consistent and national architectural policy in India, there is no reason why the Indian master-builder should not be given opportunities for maintaining under the British Raj those great traditions which his forefathers created in the service of former rulers of India.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

[Vide paragraph 9 of Mr. Havell's article on "Indian¹² Architecture" (pp. 17-25)]

"A short time ago the Government of India instituted an official enquiry into the present state of the Indian building craft, but these materials for enlarging upon the subject are not yet available.....I have shown you that building is still one of the most vital of Indian handicrafts, especially in parts of India which are out of the tourist's beaten track, and that there is to be found an abundance of fine architectural craftsmanship such as does not exist anywhere in Europe at the present time. If the evidence on this point is not so strong as it might be, it is not because that it cannot be produced, but because no one nowadays thinks it worth while to photograph a building unless it is at least fifty years old. However, in a few months' time I hope the material now available will be largely supplemented by the official investigations now being made."

*This lecture by Mr. Havell was delivered on January 27, 1913. In June last the results of the official inquiry were made available to the public in the shape of a "Report on Modern Indian Architecture (1913)" with the following sub-title "Types of Modern Indian Buildings at Delhi, Agra, Allahabad, Lucknow, Ajmere, Bhopal, Bikar, Gwalior, Jaipur, Jodhpur, and Udaipur, with Notes on the Craftsmen employed on their Design and Execution:" Printed at Allahabad by Mr. F. Luker, Superintendent, Government Press, United Provinces, 1913. Price Rs. 9 (13s. 6d.).

¹¹11. Vide *Supplementary Note*, pp. 25 etc.

The official inquiry of which the results are embodied in the above-mentioned Report was the outcome of a suggestion made in a Letter dated 20th November, 1910 from the India Society of London to the India Office, that in view of the importance of investigating the principles and practice of the living art and craft of India the officers of the Archaeological Department might, as preliminary to a complete survey of living Indian Architecture, be instructed to photograph interesting types of *modern* Indian buildings in the districts in which they are engaged and to note on the craftsmen responsible for their design and decoration. The whole point of the inquiry rested on the issue whether India had or had not still a living school of master-builders. For some time past all proposals for the greater employment under official auspices of Indian master-builders with a view to the development of indigenous Indian architecture were met by hostile critics at home and abroad, and especially by Anglo-Indian newspapers with the extremely pertinent remark, "Where are the Indian master-builders?" The Report just issued admittedly "deals only with the local architecture of a small portion of Northern India and that but briefly;" and, as we learn from the "Foreword", it was, "in view of the importance attaching to indigenous architecture in connection with the building of the new Capital of Delhi, which has been decided on since the India Society despatched their letter," rather hastily prepared without collecting full information from all the localities. We understand from the answer given by the India Office to certain questions asked in Parliament by Mr. Joseph King, M.P., that this Report may be taken to be a preliminary volume and that other volumes may be expected in future.—But even within these limitations the Report has done much towards laying at rest the doubts and queries of critics and has considerably strengthened the position advanced in the Letter of the India Society when they observe as follows:— "It is well known that there still exist all over India, especially in the Native States, a number of skilled master-builders descendants of the builders of the famous Hindu and Mughal monuments, who continue to build temples, mosques, traveller's rest-houses and bathing tanks &c., as well as domestic buildings, in the traditional styles of Indian Art. So great an authority as Fergusson has stated that he learned more from one of these men of the secrets of architectural art as practised in the Middle Ages than he had learnt from all the books he had read,—and that, given the opportunities, they could even now rival the works of their forefathers."

The Report embodies the results of inquiries made by Mr. Gordon Sanderson, Superintendent, Muhammadan and British Monuments, Northern Circle, Agra, under the direction of Dr. J. H. Marshall, C.I.E., Litt.D., F.S.A., Director-General of Archaeology in India. The photographs, reproduced in Ninety-Three excellently executed Plates, were collected by Mr. Sanderson, and he is also responsible for the descriptive notes which accompany them. M. J. Begg, F.R.I.B.A., Consulting Architect to the Government of India, has also furnished a very important introductory note on the development of Indian architecture.

The framers of the Report have adopted as their motto the following extract from Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*:—"Architecture in India is still a living Art, practised on the principles which caused its wonderful development in Europe in the 12th and 13th centuries; and there consequently, and there alone, the student of architecture has a chance of seeing the real principles of the art in action." The views expressed by Mr. Begg and Mr. Sanderson on the results of this inquiry into the present condition of indigenous Indian architecture are in full accord with the spirit of Dr. Fergusson's classic observation, as will be evident from the following extracts from the above-mentioned Report:—"These photographs should amply prove to any one who might have a doubt on the point the survival to the present day of a living tradition." [From Mr. Begg's "Note on the Development of Indian Architecture," in the *Report on Modern Indian Architecture*, p. 1.]

"The kindest, as well as the truest summing up of the case is to say that the art, though still living, is dormant, and the question with regard to it is this—is it worth re-awakening? Should we allow it to die the natural death that from one cause or another has overtaken nearly all similar art traditions in other countries, or should we give it a new lease of life?" (*Ibid.*, p. 2)

"The question⁴ is momentous, full of difficulty, not to be hastily dealt with, impossible to be answered without a very careful reviewing of the whole ground, yet imperatively demanding an immediate answer. The time has come for us to think out and declare a definite architectural policy for India; just as we have thought out a railway policy and an educational policy. That is the message which the present burst of public interest in the question of Indian architecture seems intended to convey." (*Ibid.*, p. 2)

"I think the answer must be that the living tradition is an artistic asset of such incalculable value that we cannot afford to allow it to die out; that it is well worth re-awakening, even though the complete process should be lengthy and interim results not acceptable, may be, to all. The architecture may take a hundred years to find itself, and still be "worth while". That it can be so developed, that it can be made to supply all the complex needs of modern India in a manner in conformity at once with sound business principles and with the canons of true art, I have no shadow of doubt." (*Ibid.*, p. 2)

"It is easy to try to brush aside this line of argument by the use of a few witty opprobrious epithets. It is easy to call names, and architectural criticism, so-called, is peculiarly rich in them. One can well imagine that the beginnings of, say, the Italian renaissance were not unattended by vituperation. The earlier products of that movement were probably considered to be illegitimate by the orthodox gothicists of the day. "Sham classicism" they would be called. And while I have no intention of likening the re-awakening of Indian art to Italian renaissance, still I hold that the former has in it inherent potentialities of which it is impossible to foresee (as it is ungenerous to disparage beforehand) the ultimate outcome. The truth is a great deal of unnecessary apprehension and misunderstanding befoe the idea of a developed

Indian style. The advocates of a Western manner propose (quite properly) to adapt their style to the conditions of the country. That is, surely, to Orientalize it. But would not to do so be equally likely to result in a "bastard product" as would, say, the Westernizing of Oriental art? There is, by the bye, a politer synonym for the adjective just quoted—namely "natural." But I am not proposing that we should Westernize Oriental Art, merely that we should modernize it,—a different thing. At Orientalized Western architecture the purist might justly look askance, not so at modernized Oriental architecture. That could be, and should be living art. Nor am I advocating "another futile revival" (one of the ill-names that have been used in the present controversy). The survival of the living tradition is sufficient guarantee against that. Futility in all art movements has been due to a lack of conviction on the part of the artists, a desire merely for novelty in default of inspiration. But where in the world could the architect, who had lived long enough with the art of India to become imbued with a sympathetic understanding of it, find a more inspiring task than the development of that art, and the bringing "it up to date"? Futility and banality and everything that means failure cannot, of course, be insured against with respect to any work or art movement. I say only that in this one there are fewer elements of danger and more of hope than in most." (*Ibid.*, pp. 2-3)

"Can a developed Indian architecture provide us with buildings that are modern, convenient, economical? I think so. Will they not rather be unpractical and over-ornate? I think not. All depends on the handling of the material, or rather on the architects who handle it. In spite of such individual examples as may be cited to support a contrary view, there is nothing really inherent in Indian art that demands over-elaboration or unpracticality and inconvenience, even in the light of the most diverse and exacting modern requirements. There is no element calling for lavish expenditure that is not fortuitous, or that is not as capable as corresponding elements in other modes of architectural expression of being overcome by skill on the part of the designer." (*Ibid.*, p. 3)

"Therefore I cannot see, if we declare it to be our architectural policy to develop Indian art, that we shall be transgressing the canons either of art or of common sense. To my mind we shall rather be transgressing both, if we do not." (*Ibid.*, p. 4).

"Our declaration of architectural policy could take no more suitable form than that of the manner of design we adopt for New Delhi. Our forefathers of a hundred years ago sounded a certain note in the design of the earlier buildings of Calcutta, but that note has, I think it must be admitted, dwindled too often to a sorry squeak in later examples in the same city. Is it not arguable that this decadence was due to the keynote being out of tune with any indigenous tradition? It was something of the nature of a revival, exotic, fortuitous, we introduced into India, and this, like others, has succumbed to the danger of revivals. Besides, it typed a period that is past—that of the mere

Western occupation of the country. It would be a fitting thing if the architectural note we sound in our new Capital were to type the re-awakened India of the present and future. In this matter practical and economical considerations seem to me to join hands with those which are artistic and sentimental. We have got our art—why waste it? We have got our craftsmen—why employ them on work for which they have small aptitude—or (which is what would happen) leave our best craftsmen out altogether? There is nothing, as I have already said, in an Indian manner of design that makes it costly, indeed my own experience goes to prove that the costliest manner for building in India is a Renaissance or classical one. Again, why should a Western manner be held to type most fittingly the spirit of the Government of India? Why should the style of our Capital be such as to express most strongly those alien characteristics in the administration which every year tend more and more to disappear? And lastly, why sound again a note that is sure to dwindle into decadence as it has done before, rather than one more likely to be worthily sustained by the future generations of indigenous architects for whose advent we might well make it our duty to prepare?" (*Ibid.*, pp. 4-5).

"The European architect is apt to be too hard on the Indian members of the profession. It is, perhaps, largely due to the fact that he does not appreciate the fact that native life in Native States has not appreciably changed since Mughal days. There is consequently no marked change in the architecture, which is the expression of that life. The buildings illustrated here reflect the spirit of conservatism. They are suited to their requirements in every respect, and as such are embodiments of living art, with every right to a place in the history of architecture. The men who have been responsible for them possess faculties not only for construction but for design also, as well as a working knowledge of allied crafts such as carpentry and metal work." (From Mr. Sanderson's Notes in the *Report on Modern Indian Architecture*, p. 17)

"In Rajputana, Indian life is very much the same as it was three or four centuries ago, and architecture is still a living art. In spite of the railways, telegraphs, and the visits their rulers and nobles pay so often to Western lands, it is almost purely native, and the building traditions are still unbroken. The buildings of Bikanir, for example, as surely represent the life and character of their occupants as do the low, small windowed and sturdy looking cottages, sheltering from the wind in some depression on a Yorkshire moor. Crowning all is the spacious roof, whereon are spent the stifling summer nights, while below it are the apartments for the *Zanana*, screened from the gaze of the outer world by lace-like screens of perforated stone. Below these is the porch, with a small verandah at either side, wherein the master of the house may see his friends or transact his business, while the whole front is shaded by a series of *chajjas* which, with the sun at meridian, will shade more than half the wall beneath them. Assuredly, this architecture and the individual features which characterise it are the true expression of true Indian sentiment and of Indian genius." (*Ibid.*, pp. 20-21).

"Excellent master craftsmen there are in plenty, but they cannot be brought directly under the influence of education, and it is for the architect to guide them." (*Ibid.*, p. 22).

"Let me add that it has been extremely difficult to ascertain any of the names of the craftsmen engaged on the work of these buildings. They are of the humblest class, and several officials, who showed me over these modern buildings, ridiculed the idea of asking for their names and addresses; indeed, several of the men themselves, when asked, looked on me with suspicion and, thinking that I might be on some other quest, gave me wrong addresses. Nor was a short stay of a day or two in each place sufficient time in which to get together much information. However, if the men are wanted, they can readily be found." (*Ibid.*, p. 6)

"There is no doubt that in *British India* the traditions of design and craftsmanship are in a stage of transition, as the photographs will clearly show, and this is largely due to—I quote the India Society's letter—"the spread of European fashion among the English educated classes in India and to departmental procedure in placing a very high premium upon the work of designers and craftsmen who merely imitate the commercial art of Europe.".....The truth of the quotation from the India Society's letter is only too well borne out by some of the buildings which are here instanced. Every one who has been in India knows the unhappy erections that are so frequently met with in the "average Cantonment Station." Let us not be too hard on those who built them; for until lately they have seen, springing up in their midst, buildings of the most mediocre architectural quality, and, at the worst, they have been striving after an ideal and endeavouring to express in their buildings the results of European influence." (*Ibid.*, p. 20)

"Some reasons for the inferior quality of the Indian architecture of *British India* have been suggested and the problem remains to find a remedy for this inferiority and at the same time to prevent those parts of India, in which there are as yet no signs of decay, being affected by it." (*Ibid.*, p. 21)

"That the quality of the work of an Indian architect, when he embarks on a scheme involving other than purely native requirements, is not up to the standard of Europe, is owing to the fact that his knowledge of tradition is not backed up by a careful study of architectural history, design, and the use of modern methods of construction." (*Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.)

"At Jaipur, the work of Lala Chiman Lall, the State Architect, calls for remark. His models for work on the new mausolea at Jaipur show originality and in his treatment of the newel and baluster is seen a happy combination of Eastern and Western ideas. Here is an Indian architect erecting, in his traditional style, buildings eminently adapted to the needs and customs of his people." (*Ibid.*, p. 21)

BABU DINESH CHANDRA SEN'S "HISTORY OF BENGALI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE: AN APPRECIATION

BY M. SYLVAIN LEVI, PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF PARIS

[NOTE BY THE EDITOR :—Prof. Sylvain Levi was born in Paris, on the 28th March, 1863. After a brilliant career at the University, he was raised to the dignity of a Fellow of Literature (*Agrege des Lettres*) in 1883 and of a Doctor of Literature, in 1890. A pupil of the celebrated French scholars, Abel Bergaigne and Hauvette-Besnault, he soon made his mark in the field of oriental research, and gradually took his place in the foremost rank of European orientalists. He was successively appointed Lecturer in Sanskrit at the *Ecole des hautes Etudes* (Institute of Higher Studies) in 1886, Lecturer on the Religions of India in the Section of Religious Science in 1887, and Professor of Sanskrit at the *College de France* in 1894. Among his varied and numerous learned productions, the most important to us are his *Le Theatre Indien*, which is an exhaustive and masterly treatise on the dramatical literature of India (published in Paris, 1890), and his great History of Nepal in three volumes (*Le Népal Etude historique d'un royaume hindou*, published in Paris, 1905-1908). His work on the **Hindu Theatre** referred to above is being translated into Bengali and published by instalments in the *Bharati*, a well-known monthly magazine issued from Calcutta. He has contributed original articles of the highest value, too numerous to mention in a short note, to many learned journals, and specially to the *Journal Asiatique*; and numerous critiques on learned works, and articles in the field of oriental research to the pages of the *Revue Critique*. There are also several articles from his pen in the great French Encyclopaedia ("Le Grande Encyclopédie") on *India*, *Hinduism*, the *Lokayatas*, *Hionen Thsang*, and similar other subjects of Indian interest. His thorough mastery of Sanskrit combined, as it is, with a knowledge of Chinese gives him a unique position among oriental scholars, and specially among those who have devoted themselves to the unravelling of those parts of the history of India which are cleared up by Chinese history and literature, and to the expounding of the theory, principles and history of the *Mahayana* or Northern Buddhism,—the Buddhism of Tibet, China and Japan. Extracts from some of his lengthy articles extending altogether to over a hundred pages of the *Journal Asiatique* were translated into English and published in the

Indian Antiquary for 1896-97 ; while also English versions by various English scholars of several of his articles on the *Kharoshthi* alphabet, on the missions of the Chinese *Wang Hiuen-tse* to India, on the inscriptions of the *Kshatrapa* Kings of Western India, and on similar other subjects, have been published in the pages of the same learned periodical. (Vide *Indian Antiquary* for 1903, 1904, 1906, etc.)]

" Monsieur D. C. Sen has devoted his life to the study of Bengali literature. In 1897, he published a history of the Bengali language and literature, written in Bengali, which marks an epoch. Since then he has carried on his researches and has succeeded, with his persevering efforts, in bringing out a mass of forgotten texts, which take us centuries back as far as 1000 A. D. For a neo Sanskritic language of India, like a neo-Latin language of Europe, it is a glorious and a respectable age. But Bengal has still other claims to put forward. In India, where everything assumes a gigantic appearance, Bengali, hardly known by name to Europe, is a language spoken by 45 million people. And the population of Bengal, more than the whole of the rest of India, has an intelligence, vivid, supple, fine and brilliant. Placed by nature in a happy country, under the heat of the tropical sun, on the banks of immense rivers, they enjoy a simple and easy life. Undoubtedly Bengali would have been reckoned amongst the great languages of Universal Literature, had not Sanskrit at first, and later on Persian (after the Mahomedan conquest) driven it for a long time to the rank of a subject and vulgar language. Though it lost a materialistic fame, it has gained in real and true life. It is in Bengali that we have the enigmatic cult of "Dharma" where Buddhism, though altered in appearance, is hardly concealed under the Brahmanic mask ; it is in Bengali that Chandidasa sang his songs of passionate love, in which religious symbolism barely disguises the ardour of the sense. The pious zeal of the country-folk, the demands of an insatiable practice of recitation provoke numerous translations ; the Rāmāyana, the Mahā-Bhārata, the Bhāgavata are in Bengali, retouched and altered, to suit the ever-changing public taste : legends of obscure origin, unknown to Sanskrit, thus find their way into the framework of the epics. The preaching of Chaitanya settled, at the commencement of the 16th century, the fortunes of the Bengali language ; around the apostle who preached the cult of Krishna, the new ideal of a religion of love free to all, there sprang up a rich growth of hymns, recitations and poems. But the lofty ideal of Chaitanya was lowered and degraded by his successors. But the language now cut and chiselled, afforded a very rich vehicle of thought. This was the age of court-literature and studied artificiality. Occidental genius, introduced by the British conquest, dislocated and broke up the framework of the past. The new administration would have no more of the dreamers and bards ; they wanted clerks and mechanics. Bengali since then has become the vehicle of positive knowledge. But at the very hour when its destiny was transformed, the genius of Bengal gives birth at once to the richness of the past and the

hopes of its future in the glorious personality of Rammohan Roy, an apostle, a thinker, a controversialist, and a man of action, nurtured upon the Upanishads, the Bible, and the Koran. The narrative of Mr. Sen closes in 1850, at the threshold of new Bengal, before the advent of the journalists and novelists.

"One cannot praise too highly the work of Mr. Sen. A profound and original erudition has been associated with a vivid imagination. The works which he analyses are brought back to life with the consciousness of the original authors, with the movement of the multitudes who patronised them and with the landscape which encircled them. The historian, though relying on his documents, has the temperament of an epic poet. He has likewise inherited the lyrical genius of his race. His enthusiastic sympathy vibrates through all his emotions. Convinced as every Hindu is—of the superiority of the Brahmanic civilisation, he exalts its glories and palliates its shortcomings; if he does not approve of them he would excuse them. He tries to be just to Buddhism and Islam; in the main he is grateful to them for their contribution to the making of India. He praises with eloquent ardour the early English missionaries of Christianity; he is even ready to compare Carey with Chaitanya. The appreciation of life, so rare in our book-knowledge, runs throughout the work. One reads these thousand pages with a sustained interest; and one loses sight of the enormous labour which it pre-supposes; one easily slips into the treasure of information which it presents. The individual extracts quoted at the bottom of the pages offers a unique anthology of Bengali. The linguistic remarks scattered in the excursus abound in new and precious materials. Doubtless a harsh critic may pick up errors of detail mainly amongst the fringes of the subject, in the matter of Buddhism, of ancient history, etc., but the sober and solid virtue of the work will not remain quite unimpaired. Mr. Sen has given to his country a model which it would be difficult to surpass; we only wish that it may provoke in other parts of India emulations to follow it."*

*The above is an English Translation, reprinted from the "Bengalee" newspaper of Calcutta (April 18, 1913), of Professor Sylvain Levi's review of Babu Dinesh Chandra Sen's "History of Bengali Language and Literature," Calcutta, 1911, appearing in the "Revue Critique", of Paris, January, 1913.



BABU DINESH CHANDRA SEN'S "HISTORY OF BENGALI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE"

SOME IMPORTANT POINTS RAISED BY PROF. H. C. CHAKLADAR, M.A.

TO THE EDITOR, DAWN

DEAR SIR,

Babu Dinesh Chandra Sen's *History of Bengali Language and Literature* published under the distinguished auspices of the Calcutta University is a production of the highest merit and importance. The author has done signal service to the cause of Bengali Language and Literature, and his work has been appreciated not only by our own countrymen, but has also elicited the highest commendations from European *savants* like Prof. Sylvain Levi and Dr. H. Kern. But a number of points raised by Mr. Sen in the First Chapter of his work having seemed to me to be unsound I have taken the trouble of making an independent investigation into them, and am at present of opinion that the conclusions in regard to them to which Mr. Sen has come are presumably inaccurate. I accordingly propose to draw Mr. Sen's attention to them and append the reasons which constitute the basis of my opinion on the points raised. I am fully sensible of the great respect due to Mr. Sen, the worth of whose researches into the Bengali Language and Literature is beyond all cavil; but I feel that a junior collaborator in the same field should not be deterred from bringing before the public the results of investigations of his own for fear of stirring up controversies.

RIPON COLLEGE,

Calcutta,

July 20, 1913.

Yours truly,

HARAN CHANDRA CHAKLADAR.

I*

Was Bengal interdicted by Manu?—On page 4 of his book under the heading—'Bengal Interdicted by Manu'—Babu Dinesh Chandra Sen makes the following observation:—"The codes of Manu, while including Bengal within the geographical boundary of Aryavarta, distinctly prohibit all contact of the Hindus with this land, for fear of contamination." In support of this statement he has quoted in a footnote on the same page the following verse:—

"अङ्गवङ्गकलिङ्गेषु सौराष्ट्रमग्नेषु च।

तौर्ध्वादा विना गद्यन् पुनः संस्कारमहीति ।—Manu"

* In the present article, I have been compelled to adopt *n* (italicised) for *ন*; and *s* (italicised) for *স*. The learned reader will be pleased to make some allowance for the difficulties of a writer whose resources are limited by the supply of types in an ordinary Indian Printing Press—H. C. C.

The verse means: "Any one visiting the countries of Anga (modern Bhagalpur district), Vanga (Bengal), Kalinga (Orissa and Ganjam), Saurashtra (Gujrat) and Magadha (Behar), except on pilgrimage, should go through a rite of purification." Mr. Sen has here simply attached to the verse the name of Manu, but has not mentioned the chapter of the *Manu-Samhitā* where it could be found, nor has he given any references to the particular edition of Manu where the verse was given. None of the editions of Manu that I have been able to consult gives the verse. It could not be found in the text of Manu edited by the renowned German scholar, Dr. Julius Jolly, Ph.D., after collating numerous manuscripts. Nor could this verse be traced in the standard English translation of Manu by Prof. G. Bühler in the Sacred Books of the East Series (vol. xxv). I also looked for it in that excellent edition of Manu edited by the late Hon'ble Rao Saheb Visvanāth Nārāyaṇ Māndlik, C.S.I. &c., and published at Bombay with six commentaries; but I have not come across the verse quoted by Mr. Sen either among the original texts in that book, nor in the appendix which furnishes numerous verses quoted in various Sanskrit books on Hindu Law as belonging to Manu but which are not to be found in the available editions or manuscripts of the work. Under the circumstances, the conclusion forces itself upon us that the authority of Manu cannot properly be quoted in connection with this verse. In all likelihood, it occurs in some of the later and minor 'Dharma-Sāstras' or Codes of Law, for I found that it is quoted by Jñanendra Saraswati in his commentary, the *Tattvabodhinī*, to the Sanskrit Grammar *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* while explaining the *Vārttika-Sutra* "अनात्मपक्वे लिङ्गवक्तव्यः" in the chapter on लक्षणार्थप्रक्रिया. But even here the author does not say that it is quoted from Manu, but simply says इति अरणात्, signifying that the verse according to him occurs in one or other of the *Smṛiti* works.¹

II

Are the Horiuzi (Japan) Manuscripts written in Bengali Character?—In a footnote at page 2 of his book, Babu Dinesh Chandra Sen remarks that the palm-leaf manuscript of the Buddhistic work, "Ushnīsha Vijaya Dhāraṇī", which is in the Horiuzi temple in Japan, and a facsimile of which has been published in the Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, No. III,¹ is written in a character, which we consider to be identical with that prevalent in Bengal in the 6th century." Mr. Sen has not stated his reasons for thinking so, nor is it evident what particular character is referred

1. *Mānava-Dharma-Sāstra*—The Code of Manu, original Sanskrit Text critically edited according to the Standard Sanskrit Commentaries, with critical notes by J. Jolly, Ph. D.; London, 1887.

2. *Vide* the *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* with the *Tattvabodhinī* commentary of Jñanendra Saraswati, edited by V. L. Shastri Pansikar, 4th edn., Nirzayāgār Press, Bombay, 1908, page 449.

1. The Ancient Palm-Leaves containing the Prajñā-Páramitá-Hridaya-Sutra and the Ushnīsha-Vijaya-Dhāraṇī, edited by F. Max Müller and Buniyu Nanjo with an appendix by G. Bühler, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1884, Anecdota Oxoniensia—Aryan Series, No. III.

to by him as prevalent in Bengal in the sixth century. The alphabet in use in Bengal at the time must have been the Gupta Character which was in use over a considerable portion of India. It is not known that any other special alphabet was in vogue in Bengal; on the other hand, the writing on the Horiuzi palm-leaves resembles, as Prof. G. Bühler has shown, the alphabet in use for several centuries throughout almost the whole of India. We quote from Prof. Bühler's remarks in the appendix added to the work referred to above (p. 88):—"The close agreement of the much later Nepalese MSS. and of numerous inscriptions from all parts of India with the forms of the Horiuzi palm-leaves, shows that this alphabet was not exclusively cultivated by the Buddhists or peculiar to Northern India, but enjoyed a widespread popularity down to the end of the ninth century, and perhaps later. At present it survives only in the Sáradá (शारदा) of Kashmir, which probably branched off in early times." We see, therefore, that there is no paleographic reason to assign to Bengal in particular the honour of having originally produced the Horiuzi palm-leaves. These palm-leaves are supposed by Prof. Max Müller² to have belonged to Bodhidharma, the twenty-eighth patriarch of Chinese Buddhism. Now, Bodhidharma was the son of a King of Southern India,³ and about A.D. 526, "Bodhidharma, after having grown old in Southern India, reached Canton by sea."⁴ So that if we suppose that the palm-leaf manuscripts were carried by Bodhidharma from Southern India to China, we might expect that the alphabet used in writing them was South Indian, rather than that of Bengal. Therefore, there is no consideration which might justify us in assuming that the Horiuzi palm-leaves are written in Bengali characters of the sixth century.

III

(1)

Is Bengali a Paisáchi Language?—On pages 4 and 5 of his book, Babu Dinesh Chandra Sen makes the following remarks relative to the particular group of Prákrita-s to which the vernacular dialect of Bengal has been assigned by the grammarians. I have taken the liberty of quoting this rather lengthy extract from Mr. Sen's work in order to give his argument in full. "The Buddhist priests had already, in the latter part of the tenth century, begun to write books in Prákrita called the Gouda Prákrita. This Prákrita was called by the grammarian Krishna Pandit, who flourished in the twelfth century, as a form of Paisáchi Prákrita or a Prákrita spoken by the evil spirits. The rules specified by him, in his celebrated grammar Prákrita-Chandriká, as peculiar to our dialect, apply to it up to this day. According to him त and ण change into ত and ণ, and ণ is pronounced as ত in this form of Prákrita, and of প, ব, শ, one form only is found in current use. These are, generally

2. Vide Prof. Max Müller's Letter printed in the Transactions of the Sixth International Congress of Orientalists at London, pp. 124-128.

3. Vide *Chinese Buddhism* by Rev. J. Edkins, D.D., p. 86.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

speaking, the characteristic features of spoken Bengali up to this day and our old manuscripts are full of examples of them. The reasons which made Krishna Pandit give our language the contemptuous name of Paisáchí Prákrita, are not far to seek. It is the same that made Manu condemn all touch with this land. The dialect of the Buddhist people, in which the Buddhist priests were writing books, could not be accepted by the Sanskritic school which arose with the revival of Hinduism." Again, on page 10 of his book, Mr. Sen speaks of "the despicable Paisáchí Prákrita of Bengal." Mr. Sen appears to think of the term Paisáchí (পৈশাচী) as being a specially contemptuous epithet coined by the grammarian Krishna Pandit and applied to the vernacular dialect of Bengal because it was used by Buddhist priests in writing certain books. Now, with all deference to Mr. Sen's authority I beg to point out that besides containing minor inaccuracies with regard to the date of Krishna Pandit and the importance of his book as a work on Prákrita grammar, the statement by Mr. Sen quoted above sets forth opinions which are not substantiated by facts. I shall show below that the phonetic peculiarities noted by Mr. Sen as belonging to Paisáchí Prákrita are most of them, characteristics of Mágadhi Prákrita, according to the Prákrita grammarians, not excluding Krishna Pandit himself, who appears to hold views different from those for which Mr. Sen holds him responsible; and that it is of Mágadhi Prákrita, that Bengali is considered to be an offshoot, according to modern scholars. It will also be seen that the term Paisáchí is as old at least as the third century B.C., and that whatever may have been its origin, the name had nothing to do with Buddhism or Buddhist priests at all.

(2)

Before proceeding to discuss whether Bengali is a Paisáchí or a Mágadhi Prákrita, it would be desirable to speak a few words about the main classification of the Prákrita languages. According to the Indian grammarians, the word Prákrita means a language which has for its प्रकृति or origin Sanskrit,¹ and it is divided generally into four classes, viz., Máháráshtri (মাহারাষ্ট্ৰী), which was Prákrita *par excellence*, Sauraseni (শুরসেনী), the language of Central India, Mágadhi (মাগাদী) and Paisáchí (পৈশাচী). This is the classification adopted by the oldest and the most authoritative of Prákrita grammars, viz., the Prákrita-Prakásá (প্রাকৃতপ্রকাশ) of Vararuchi, who is also known by his *gotra* or family name as Kátyáyana and is now believed by European scholars generally to be the same person as the celebrated author of the *Värttikas* on Páṇini's grammar.² Old Indian authors, grammarians, lexicographers and others speak of him indifferently as either Vararuchi or Kátyáyana. The German scholar, Jacob Wackernagel whose grammar of the Sanskrit language, *Altindische Grammatik* (or Ancient

1. Hemachandra says in his grammar (1, 1), प्रकृतिः चंक्तम् । तवभवं ततः आगतं प्राकृतम्, that is, 'The प्रकृति or origin is Sanskrit; that which is derived from it or comes out of it, is Prákrita.'—Vide *Grammatik der Prákrit-Sprachen* by R. Pischel, Strassburg, 1900; page 1.

2. Ibid., pp. 34-35.

Indian Grammar) is considered by European scholars to be the best of its kind and the most exhaustive, places Kátyáyana or Vararuchi in the third century before Christ.³ Vararuchi's great work has been published by Prof. E. B. Cowell with the commentary, Manoramá of Bhámaha, and also with notes and an English translation. The Prákrita grammarians who flourished after Vararuchi generally accept Vararuchi's classification, some of them like the celebrated Jaina author, Hemachandra, adding to the list, ársha (आर्ष) or árdhamágadhi, (अर्द्ध मागदी) Chulikápásichika (चूलिकापैशाचिक) and Apabhramsa (अपभ्रंश), which are rather sub-classes of Prákita. All the Prákrita grammarians from Vararuchi downwards have given rules specifying the changes that Sanskrit words undergo in each of the various forms of Prákita.

(3)

Now let us proceed to examine with the help of the Prákrita grammarians how far the phonetic changes mentioned by Mr. Sen would justify us in assuring Bengali to be a Paisíchi dialect. We shall begin with Krishna Pandit whom Mr. Sen has cited as his authority. Mr. Sen has not told us whether he consulted Krishna Pandit's work, the Prákritachandriká in a manuscript or in a printed form. So far as I am aware, the whole of the *Prákritachandriká* has not been published anywhere, but large extracts from it have been included by Professor Peter Peterson at pages 342-348 of his *Third Report of Operations in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Circle, April 1884-March 1886*. Krishna Pandit did not flourish in the twelfth century as laid down by Mr. Sen, but towards the end of the fifteenth. His uncle Rámachandrácháryá on whose work, the *Prakriyákaumudi*, he wrote a commentary, has been placed by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar at about 1450 A.D.; also according to Dr. Bhandarkar, Krishna's family "belonged to the Andhra country or, in other words, it was a family of Tailanga Brahmins devoted to the study of the Rigveda and belonging to the *Kaundinya Gotra*.⁴

3. Vide *Altindische Grammatik* von Jacob Wackernagel, Teil I, Lautlehre. Göttingen, 1896 : p. lx.

4. Vide *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1883-84* by Dr. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., Bombay, 1887 ; pages 58-59. Vide also *A Fourth Report of Operations in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Circle, April 1886-March 1892*, by Professor Peter Peterson ; page xxii. In his note on Krishna Pandit, Professor Peterson observes, "Krishna was author also of a commentary to the *Prakriyákaumudi* of Ramachandra. For our author see Bhandarkar's Report, 1883-84, p. 59. According to Bhandarkar, Ramachandra, who was our author's nephew, lived about 1150 A.D." This date given by Prof. Peterson is evidently a slip, inasmuch as the Report of Dr. Bhandarkar to which he refers us expressly mentions the date as 1450. Moreover, Prof. Peterson has made a confusion between the uncle and the nephew, as according to the genealogical table of Krishna's family given by Dr. Bhandarkar in the report referred to above, Krishna was the nephew of Ramachandra and not *vice versa*. As Krishna wrote a commentary on Ramachandra's work, he must have been considerably younger than the latter.

As regards Mr. Sen's statement that Krishna Pandit's *Prákritachandriká* was a 'celebrated grammar', the fact appears to be that it was avowedly a children's manual, as the author himself says: "गिरुहिता कृते प्राकृतचन्द्रिकाम्"—"I am preparing the Prákritachandriká for the sake of children" (Prof. Peterson's *Third Report*, p. 343). The celebrated German scholar, the late Dr. Pischel, in his well-known work *Grammatik der Prákrit-Sprachen* calls the Prákritachandriká, 'eine dürfte Arbeit'—'a poor work' (page 44). The work consists of sutras in verse and a commentary in prose by the Pandit himself and contains numerous extracts from other grammarians such as Bharata, Bharadwája, Hemachandra, Viswanátha etc.

Now, in the extracts from the Prákritachandriká given by Prof. Peterson in his Third Report (p. 344), we find the following express statement of Krishna Pandit:—"मागधीं रख लः, सः शो जो यः, सेहै च लक्षणे"—"In Mágadhi र is found to be changed into ल, स into श, ज into य and ख or the nominative affix into णि or the locative form." Here, then, we find the author cited by Mr. Sen himself as his authority speaking of two of the characteristics of Bengali viz., the change of र into ल and of स into श as belonging to Mágadhi and not to Paisáchi as Mr. Sen would have us believe. In fact these two changes have been mentioned by all Prákrita grammarians as we shall show below, as the principal distinguishing characteristics of Mágadhi. The celebrated grammarian Hemachandra who flourished 1088—1172 A.D., and whose work, the Siddha-Hemachandra is called by Dr. Pischel as "by far the most important of all the Prákrita grammars yet published," gives the rule रस्तेन्ति i.e. "ल and श are respectively substituted for र and स" (*Siddha-Hemachandra*, Adhyáya VIII, Páda IV, Sutra 288). Kramadívara who is supposed by Prof. Pischel to have lived before Hemachandra, gives the following two rules in the eighth chapter styled *Prákritapáda* of his grammar called *Samkshiptapávriti*:—मागधीं रस्ते शः १॥ and री लः ॥ २॥, i.e. "In Mágadhi र is substituted for श and स, and ल for र".⁵

Another Prákrita grammar, the *Prákritarúpavártára*, based on the *Vilmikisútra* by Simharája son of Samudrabandhayajvan, has the following about the Mágadhi:—'अथ मागधौविभागः। छोर्ण्डी—चकार-टेफरीः छँ—शकार-लकारी यथारुद्धं'

5. Hemachandra's book is named *Siddha-Hemachandram*, being dedicated to Siddharája and written by Hemachandra; the first seven chapters of this work deal with Sanskrit grammar and the eighth is devoted to Prákrita grammar. The eighth chapter again is divided into four *pádas*, of which the fourth treats of the various classes of Prákrita. It has been published by Mahábala Krishna, Bombay, Samvat 1929 and also in two parts by Prof. R. Pischel, Halle, 1877 and 1880. Hemachandra's Sutras about the Mágadhi Prákrita have also been given in Prof. Cowell's edition of Vararuchi's *Prákritaprakásá*, p. 181.

6. Vide Prof. C. Lassen's *Institutiones Linguæ Pracríticæ*—Bonn, 1837, page 393; it is a work written in Latin on Prákrita Grammar, furnishing extracts from many of the Indian grammarians. The entire Prákritapáda of Kramadívara was also published by Ràjá Rajendralála Mitra in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. A new edition of this páda was also published in Calcutta in 1889.

भवतः । 'In Mágadhi, ष्ट and ष्ण are substituted respectively for श and र.'⁷ On the other hand, Simharája's grammar gives under Paisáchi the sutra "श्वीष् शः," i.e. " ष्ट is substituted for श and ष्ण in Paisáchi"; this records a linguistic process which is the direct opposite of that obtaining in Bengali.

We now turn to the oldest Prákrita grammar, the *Prákritaprakásá* of Vararuchi. Vararuchi gives in *Sutra* 3 of the eleventh chapter of his book which deals with the Mágadhi Prákrita, the rule—' ष्टसीः ष्टः' i.e. ' ष्ट is substituted for श and ष्ण in Mágadhi';⁸ and also under *Sutra* 5 of the same chapter, the commentator furnishes as examples the Mágadhi forms पञ्चय and निर्मलै for the Sanskrit words परिचय; and निर्मरै, showing the substitution of ष्ट for र in Mágadhi.⁹

Coming down to our own times, we find Dr. G. A. Grierson stating, that "in Mágadhi r becomes l. Here also ष्ट and ष्ण become ष्ट, a peculiarity still preserved by the modern Bengali";¹⁰ also Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar says, "The Bengali reduces all the sibilants to ष्ट like the speakers of the Mágadhi."¹¹

From what we have said above, there cannot be any doubt that the rule of substitution of ष्ट for र and of ष्ट for श and ष्ण, belong to Mágadhi Prákrita and not to Paisáchi as averred by Mr. Sen; and further we have shown that Krishna Pandit himself on whose authority, Mr. Sen avowedly relies is of the very same opinion.

(4)

We shall next take up the other two phonetic changes mentioned by Mr. Sen, viz., the pronunciation of ष्ट as ज्ञ and of ष्ण as न. From the extracts from Krishna Pandit's book given by Prof. Peterson, I cannot find what the Pandit says of them. By the other Prákrita Grammarians from Vararuchi downwards,

7. Vide *Prakritarupśāvitrī* edited by E. Hultzsch, London, 1909; page 88. Simharája's work is a redaction and a commentary of an old grammar known as the *Välmiķisutras*, after the manner of Bhattojīdikshita in his *Siddhāntakāumudi*. Dr. Hultzsch says in the introduction to his book (p. iv), "Simharája did not compose the rules themselves, but drew on the same collection of sutras which, in their original sequence, are known to have been commented on by Trivikrama, just as Panini's aphorisms by the authors of the Kasika commentary." The date of the Välmiķisutras is not known; that of Trivikrama sometime between the 13th and the 15th centuries. Simharája is known to be later than Bhattojīdikshita.

8. Ibid., p. 92.

9. Vide *The Prákrita-Prakásá* or The Prákrita grammar of Vararuchi with the commentary Manoramā of Bhāmaha. With notes and an English Translation by E. B. Cowell, M.A., Second issue: London, 1868; pp. 89 and 179. See also Lassen, op. cit., p. 391.

10. Cowell, op. cit., pp. 89 and 179.

11. Vide *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition, vol. xxii, article *Prakrit* by Dr. G. A. Grierson, C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt.

12. Vide *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xvii, 1887-1889; p. 181; article headed *Phonology of the Vernaculars of Northern India* by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph. D.

however, the change of initial ष into ज is given as a general rule for most of the Prakrits such as Māhārāshtri, Arddhamāgadhi, Sauraseni, Jaina Māhārāshtri, Jaina Sauraseni, etc.¹³ An exception is made in the case of Paisāchi, so that it could never have been a characteristic of that form of Prákrita as stated by Mr. Sen. In Māgadhi also initial ष does not become ज but about Māgadhi, "Hemachandra says," I quote from Dr. Grierson, "that *Lakshmi* was pronounced and written in Māgadhi *Lakkhi, bhakta* as *bhatta*, *sagara* as *shagara*, *hāhya* as *bajha*."¹⁴ The last example shows that in some cases at least the Māgadhi followed the modern Bengali practice of pronouncing a conjunct ending in ष as a double consonant. We may note in passing that all the other phonetic changes mentioned by Hemachandra in the above passage agree with those of modern Bengali. Again, the peculiarity of changing ष into ज is found as a characteristic of the old Prákrita dialect of Eastern Bengal known to Prákrita grammarians as *Dhakki* or *Dhakkadesiyā Apabhramsa* which is supposed by Prof. Lassen¹⁵ as well as Prof. Pischel¹⁶ to have been so named from Dacca in Eastern Bengal. In the Sanskrit drama, *Mrichchhakatika*, we find two of the characters *Māthura* and *Dyutakra* speaking in this *Dhakki* Prákrita, as Prithvidhara says in his commentary on that drama—अपभ्रंश-प्रपच्छु चतन्न एव भाषा प्रयज्ञते—गकारौ चाण्डालौ शावरौ ढक्केजीयाः। * * * ढक्कभाषापाठकौ माथुरद्युतकरौ—¹⁷—that is "Among the Apabhramsa dialects four are used—viz. Sakārī Chāndalī, Sābarī, and Dhakkadesiyā." * * Māthura and Dyutakara speak in the language of Dhakka." We find in the Second act, Dyutakara changing the Sanskrit word शट्टि into जट्ट, शशम् into जस, शावत् into जावत् etc. It is perhaps the influence of this Dhakki that has converted the Sanskrit ज into ष in modern Bengali.

It is only in the change of ष into न in modern Bengali that we meet with a Paisāchi characteristic; Vararuchi has, in the chapter on Paisāchi, the rule शीनः—that is, न is substituted for ष in Paisāchi.¹⁸ But if this is so, we must not forget that the same is also the characteristic of modern Hindi, and of some of the dialects of Mārāthi, for as Dr. Bhandarkar observes, "The Hindi people and the Konkan lower classes pronounce ष as न like the

13. Vide Pischel, op. cit., pp. 175-176.

14. Vide *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. v, part i: Compiled and edited by G. A. Grierson, Calcutta, 1903; p. 15.

15. Vide Lassen, op. cit., Appendix, p. 7. Lassen reads the word as *Takki*, and says, "Takki, nisi fallor idiomia provincial Daccae in Bengalia Orientali,"—that is, "Takki is, if I am not mistaken, the provincial dialect of Dacca in Eastern Bengal."

16. Pischel, op. cit., p. 25.

17. Vide *Mrichchhakatika*, published by the Nirnayasaṅgrāha Press, First edition Bombay, 1902, pp. 55, 66, etc. About Dhakki, Prithvidhara has also the following: शक्तरप्राया ढक्कुविभाषा संख्यात्मात्मले इत्याताख्यब्रह्मकारदद्य-युक्ताच (See Stenzler's edition of *Mrichchhakatika*, Bonn, 1847, p. v. etc.) From this remark of Prithvidhara we find that the characteristics of Māgadhi about ष and न also existed in Dhakki.

18. Cowell, op. cit., p. 86; and Lassen, op. cit., p. 440.

speakers of Paisâchi."¹⁹ But no body can contend that either Hindi or Mârâthî is a Paisâchi dialect. Neither is Bengali, in seeing that the principal characteristic of Paisâchi, on the authority of Vararuchi,²⁰ viz., that in place of the third and fourth letters of each *Varga* or class, we must use the first and second respectively, as in the examples राष्ट्रा for राजा, चेष्टो for चेच्छ; वटिष्ठ for वटिष्ठः, गङ्गनम् for गङ्गनम्, बत्तन for बद्धन etc., does not exist in the case of Bengali at all. And in the case of the sibilants, as we have already shown, Paisâchi follows a quite different rule from Bengali.

(5)

From what we have said above, it is clear that Bengali belongs to Mâgadhi Prâkrita and modern linguists also fully uphold this view. Dr. G. A. Grierson, the distinguished editor of the "Linguistic Survey of India," published by the Government of India says,²¹ "There is no doubt about the fact that it is from some eastern form of this Mâgadhi language (or Prâkrit, as it is called) that Bengali is directly descended." And in another place we read,—"Mâgadhi is the parent of all the languages of the Eastern group of Indo-Aryan vernaculars. Just as the Eastern vernacular of Asoka's time branched out into a number of dialects, of which Mâgadhi was the principal one, so Mâgadhi in the course of centuries has, in its turn, developed into four separate languages, of which Bengali and Bihari are the principal. Indeed this process of fission had already commenced during Prâkrit times, for the latest indigenous grammarians of that language mention among the varieties of Mâgadhi, a Gaudi, a Dhakki, and an Utkali or Odri. Behari is the direct descendant of Mâgadhi and is spoken in its original home. Gaudi is the parent of the Bengali of Northern Bengal and Assamese. Spreading to the South-east, Mâgadhi developed into the Bengali of the Gangetic Delta, and still further towards the rising sun, Dhakki (or the Mâgadhi of Dacca) became the modern Eastern Bengali. Oriya is the representative of the ancient Utkali." The Distinguished European scholar and linguist, Dr. A. F. R. Hœrnle also says,²² "Mâgadhi is the speech of modern Bihar and (western) Bengal and corresponds generally to the present Bangali (inclusive of the Eastern Hindi dialects, the Mâgadhi and Maithili)." Prof. Pischel also agrees with this view.²³

(6)

We require further to inquire,—in what parts of India the Paisâchi dialects are and were spoken,—and that from geographical considerations also it will be seen that Bengali could never have been a Paisâchi

19. Journal Bombay Br. R. A. S., vol. xvii, p. 181.

20. Cowell, op. cit., p. 86.

21. Vide *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. v, part i, page 5.

22. Vide *A Grammar of the Eastern Hindi Compared with the Other Gaudian Languages* by A. F. Rudolf Hœrnle, Ph.D., London, 1880.

23. Pischel, op. cit., p. 10.

dialect. "The principal modern Paisáchi languages," says Dr. Grierson, "are three or four spoken in Kafiristan, Khowar of Chitral, Shina of Gilgit, Kashmiri and Kohistani. The last two are border tongues, much mixed with the neighbouring languages of India proper. The only one which has any literature is Kashmiri. The rest are entirely uncultivated."²⁴ Further, there is reason to believe that according to Indian grammarians also the Paisáchi Prákrita was the language of the border provinces of India, the people of which were known as the Pisáchas. A Prákrita grammarian Lakshmidhara says in his grammar, the Shad-bháshí-chandriká : पिशाचदेशनियतं पैशाचौहित्यं विद् : पिशाचदेशाद् वृहत्काः—गाह्य-क्रेक्ष्य-वाह्लौक-सच्च-नेपाल-कन्तलाः। सुदेशभोतगान्धारवैद्य-कनोजनाकाशा। एते पैशाचदेशाः सुः। Translation : Two kinds of Paisáchi are known in the Pisácha country. The Pisácha countries are enumerated as follows by ancients :—Pándya (in southern India), Kekaya (identified by Dr. Grierson with the Western Panjab), Báhlika (Balkh, Bactria), Sahya, Nepal, Kuntala, Sudesha, Bhota, Gándhara (N. W. India and Afghanistan), Haiva and Kanojana. These are the Pisácha countries." Most of these names belong to countries in the north and north-west of India except Pándya and Sahya which are in southern India; it does not appear what is meant by the words *Haiva* and *Kanojana*. The reading of the verse which is taken from an extract in Lassen's *Institutiones Linguae Pracríticæ*, is evidently corrupt. The foregoing considerations clearly show that the Paisáchi language was spoken in border countries mostly in the north-western and northern India; while between the speakers of Paisáchi and those of Mágadhi intervened the speakers of Sauraseni, which corresponds to the modern Western Hindi dialects spoken in Central India, Rajputana and the neighbouring districts, and which according to Vararuchi was the *Prakriti* or origin²⁵ of Paisáchi; so that Paisáchi had nothing to do with Mágadhi or its derivative dialect, Bengali.

From what we have said above, it is evident that the statement by Mr. Sen that the name Paisáchi was given to Bengali out of contempt for it, by reason of Buddhistic works having been written in it, requires hardly any refutation. As we have already seen, the term was used by Vararuchi in the third century B. C., when there was hardly any Buddhist literature at all, and when the Buddhists formed but an insignificant Hindu sect. Moreover, from the fact that Vararuchi devotes a whole chapter of his great work to the elucidation of the phonetic peculiarities of the Paisáchi Prákrita, proves beyond doubt that the term had acquired a very clearly defined significance at the time that Vararuchi wrote, and that therefore its origin must be looked for at a far more ancient date; perhaps it was older than Buddhism itself. The ancient origin of the term Paisáchi and the great vogue enjoyed by the tongue designated by

24. Vide *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition, vol. xiv, p. 487. Article *Indo-Aryan Languages* by G. A. Grierson, C.I.E., PH. D., &c.

25. Lassen, op. cit., Appendix, p. 13.

26. Cowell, op. cit., p. 86. Vararuchi has the following two stanzas at the beginning of his ch. x.—पैशाची । १ । and प्रकृतिः शीरसेनी ॥ २ ॥

it is also apparent from the fact that the celebrated and huge collection of tales, entitled *Brihatkathā* or the 'Great Story Book' was written in the Paisáchi dialect about the first century A. D., by Guṇādhya who is supposed to have been a minister of the Andhra King Hāla. That this Paisáchi dialect, instead of being looked down upon with contempt by Sanskrit scholars, was, on the contrary, looked up to with respect, becomes evident to us when we see that two great poets of the calibre of Kshemendra and Somadeva translated or paraphrased portions of this Paisáchi work into Sanskrit for the delectation of those who were unable to enjoy it in Guṇādhya's original. An idea of the huge bulk of this extensive original work in Paisáchi may be formed from the statement of Somadeva that it consisted of one lakh verses, and Somadeva's own Sanskrit paraphrase which does not profess to be a rendering of the whole of the work, consists of twenty-four thousand stanzas.²⁷

(7)

It is clear that none of the statements made by Mr. Sen in the passage I have extracted from his book (*vide* p. 36) is tenable. There is, however, one passage in Krishna Pandit's work which apparently might lend some colour to Mr. Sen's statement but, as will be presently shown, does not really support it.

काश्मौदशौयपाण्ड च पाञ्चलं गौड़मग्रष्ठं ।

ब्रावण्ड-दाच्छित्यां च शौरसेनं च कैक्यथम् ।

शावटं द्राविडं चैव एकादशं पिशाचकाः ॥

The above may be rendered into English thus: "The languages viz. Kāñchideśiya, Pāṇḍya, Pāñchāila, Gauda, Māgadha, Brāhmaṇda, Dākshinātya, Saurasena, Kaikaya, Śābata, and Drāvida form the eleven Pīśicha languages." It will be observed that in this passage almost all the languages of India except only Mahārashtri are included amongst the Paisáchi tongues. From what we have spoken above about the classification of the Prākṛita languages since the time of Vararuchi, it will be reasonable to hold that such a sweeping generalisation is quite inadmissible, and is against the expressed views of all the grammarians. Krishna Pandit does not certainly hold this view himself seeing that at the commencement of his work (verse 10) he classifies the Prākṛita languages as follows²⁸ : -

तत्त्वार्थं भागधौ शौरसेनो पैशाचिको तथा ।

चुलिकापैशाचिकं चापभूश्च ति षड्बिष्मम् ।

"Prākṛita is of six kinds viz., Arsha, Māgadhi, Sauraseni, Paisāchikī, Chulikāpaisāchika and Apabhramsa." Further, in the body of his work he enumerates the peculiarities of each of these classes. This certainly shows that

27. Vide an article headed *On the Vrihatkatha of Kshemendra* by Prof. G. Bühler in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 1, 1872, pp. 302-309. See also Prof. Bühler's *Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit MSS. made in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India*, issued as an extra no. of the Journal Bombay Br. R. A. S., 1877, pp. 46-47.

28. Prof. Peterson's Third Report, p. 343.

he did not consider the Saurasenī and Mágadhi to be included in Paisáchi. Furthermore we note that the passage about the eleven Paisáchikas has been introduced by him with the remark तदुक्षम्, or, "Thus it is said," showing very clearly that the passage owed its origin to some outside source, and that it did not embody any opinion of his own. Mr. Sen has therefore no adequate reason for holding Krishna Pandit responsible for it. Krishna Pandit has not given the name of this author whom he quotes, and what this unknown author means by such a sweeping generalisation, it is impossible to understand until it can be traced to its original and studied with reference to its context.

(8)

I have only to consider in this connection another loose statement made by Mr. Sen on page 8 of his book, where he speaks of the Sanskrit scholars' "contempt for Bengali which was one of the most lax forms of the Arddhamágadhi Prakrita." I am unable to account for this new designation of Arddhamágadhi given to Bengali except on the supposition that he thought that Arddhamágadhi was a synonym for Paisáchi. Mr. Sen, it will be seen is here equally unfortunate in the application of this new name to Bengali. Arddhamágadhi was a name given by the grammarians to a mixture of Mágadhi with Máháráshtri²⁹ or with Saurasenī;³⁰ it is also otherwise defined by certain grammarians as the language to which the rules about the phonetic changes of Mágadhi did not fully apply.³¹ It is also claimed by the Jainas that the founder of their faith, Mahávira preached in this language³² Anyhow it has no connection with Paisáchi or even with Bengali, but was spoken in the tract between the Mágadhi and Saurasenī-speaking areas. Dr. Hoernle says,³³ "Arddhamágadhi is described as a mixture of Mágadhi and Saurasenī (or Máháráshtri); it follows that it must have been spoken to the west of Mágadhi, i.e. in the Banáras District; it corresponds, therefore, to the Bhojpuri or the Eastern Hindi proper." Prof. Sten Konow, the well-known Norwegian scholar, also speaks about Arddhamágadhi as "the dialect in which the sacred books of the Jainas are written, probably based on the old vernacular spoken about and to the east of the modern Allahabad."³⁴

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* 29. Kramadíswara says in the chapter on Mágadhi in his *Sankshiptasára*, "महाराष्ट्रैभिश्चाहं मागधी" or "Arddhamágadhi is a mixture of Máháráshtri with Mágadhi."—*Vide* Lassen, op. cit., p. 393.

* 30. *Vide* Hoernle, op. cit., p. xx, foot-note and p. xxiv.

* 31. Abhayadeva, a commentator of some of the Jaina religious works, says अहं मागधैभाषा यस्यां रसोल्लेखी मागधाभित्रादिकं सग्रहमात्रालक्षणं परिपूर्णताति"—i.e. "The Arddhamágadhi language is that in which the rules about the substitution of ल and ळ for र and स etc., as in Mágadhi, do not fully apply." *Vide* Pischel, op. cit., p. 15.

* 32. One of the Jaina holy works, the Samaváyangasutta, has—भगवं च च अहमागद्वै भाषाए चन्नं आदख्यै i.e. "Verily the lord preached the faith in the Addhamágadhi language." Also, the Ovaváiyasutta, another Jaina canonical work, says—“भगवं महात्मैरे अहपागद्वै भाषाए भास्तु”, "The Lord Mahávira spoke in the Addhamágadhi tongue." *Vide* Pischel, op. cit., p. 14.

* 33. Dr. Hoernle op. cit., p. xxvi.

* 34. *Indian Antiquary*, 1903, p. 181.

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That which is ever-permanent in one mode of Being is the TRUTH.—Sankara

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WHOLE
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PART I: INDIANA

NOTES ON THE EDUCATION PROBLEM IN INDIA—II QUESTIONS OF POLICY

(Continued from pp. 193-209 of Part I of the July-August, 1913 issue)

V

(A)

The Problem of Education and Educational Reform is being daily understood as intimately associated with questions relating to Heredity, so that an increasing regard is being paid to considerations relating to the action of the factors of Inheritance upon the factors, stimuli or conditions which make up the Environment of an organism. Hitherto the theory that held almost unlimited sway was that the factors of environment were all in all, and that all sorts of transformation were possible under a suitably planned environment. The idea has only lately begun to dawn that although the expression of the inborn qualities of an organism, the expression, that is, of the factors of inheritance, may be hindered, impeded, prevented or suppressed by the influence of an adverse environment, nevertheless the action of the environment does not go so far as to change or alter or destroy the germinal constitution, or the factors of inheritance, of the organism. That is the accepted verdict of the science of Heredity to-day. Given a suitable environment, the factors of inheritance may find a proper outlet for expression, manifestation, development, which ordinarily, i.e., popularly, although mistakenly, is taken to mean that the environment wrought the miracle (of development). Whereas the truth is that the conditions forming the environment were only helpful to the expression and evolution of the *inborn* qualities of the organism;

since no such expression would have been possible, if the environment had been sufficiently strongly adverse. That is the function to which the factors of environment are limited ; they can either help or hinder ; but they do not create or generate, and transmit. The need for an *appropriate* environment is undoubtedly necessary, but only to help in the expression and development of the inborn factors, the factors of inheritance. A given quality or character—a germinal or hereditary trait or feature may be present, but for want of a suitable opportunity—on account of the presence of an adverse external condition, it may fail to express itself in actual life. On the other hand, the best of institutions such as may be introduced into a community through the efforts of legislators, educationalists, reformers would fail of their intended effect unless they were able to work upon *natures fitted to receive or profit by them*. In other words, there is in nature a certain necessary correlation between particular kinds of organism and particular kinds of environment ; the best of environments will fail of its intended effect if this correlation be not taken account of, if this correlation be not adequately established. The problem of education has to be approached from, and based on, this fundamental aspect of the matter. "The great error," observes an acknowledged living authority on Heredity—Mr. W. C. Dampier Whetham, M.A., F.R.S., of Trinity College, Cambridge—"which misled the framers of the Act of 1870" (the English Elementary Education Act) "was one which has misled many generations of statesmen,—the belief in and desire for uniformity—and a limitation of outlook. Instead of recognising the segregation of characteristics in different sections of the nation, instead of realising and providing for the development of the specialised qualities, aptitudes and occupations distributed, often geographically, in their midst, they endeavoured to establish one uniform system of training throughout the country, founded on a literary basis, and directed chiefly to further the advancement of the type of mind with which they were best acquainted. Our educational authorities occasionally recognise a school outside the normal run—trade schools, schools for home-making—and serious efforts are made to form centres of technical instruction, appropriate to the industries and specialised character of the population of each district. But further differentiation is the most crying need, *together with a recognition of the fact that the various sections of the community differ inherently among themselves, and to make the most of their opportunities, require methods differing profoundly among each other in scope, aim, and duration.*" *

* Pp. 122-123 of W. C. D. Whetham's "Heredity and Society"; 2nd edn.; Longmans, Green & Co., 1912.

(B)

The true relation in which the environment (i.e., the environing conditions of life) stands to the organism—the “factors of inheritance”, as we have called them—following Professor Edwin S. Goodrich, F.R.S., of Oxford (in his *Evolution of Living Organisms*)—or to the “original endowment” (to quote Professor William Bateson, M.A., F.R.S., of Cambridge) is, as has been already explained, the relation of a subsidiary (though correlated) factor, to a primary one, the motive or driving power lying in the primary. In his *Biological Fact and the Structure of Society* (1912), the last-mentioned distinguished Professor of Biology in the University of Cambridge, an oft-quoted and acknowledged authority whose recent address on the Factors of Heredity before the International Medical Congress in London (1913) has roused the greatest interest in scientific circles—observes with reference to the supreme value of the factors of inheritance as contra-distinguished from those of environment:—“Many are disposed to imagine that the conditions of life (environment) play a great part in producing such a mixed assemblage of people,—but the more we learn of biological fact, the less do we find much evidential ground for that opinion. *The conditions of life provide opportunities for the development of character, but they cannot increase the original endowment. If the right opportunity be withheld, the characteristic does not appear.* If the stout man had been starved from his birth, obviously his disposition to stoutness might have remained unknown; but the spare man, like the razor-back pigs of the Southern States, will not fatten though he take five meals a day. And so for qualities that may be regarded as more subtle. A muscat grape will produce its aromatic flavour if it have the sun and the suitable soil,—the pretentious Gros Colmar, with its fruits half as large again, is not worth eating, though it be fostered with all the gardener’s skill. These qualities are, as we say, *genetic*, given to the creature at its birth, brought into it on fertilisation by one, or by the other, or by both of the cells which united to produce it. That the conclusions to which experimental studies of animals and plants have led us apply also on the whole to the descent of human faculty can be doubted by no one who has studied the evidence.” *

The problem of education for an individual or any living organism intimately concerns itself with a proper and adequate study of the factors of inheritance—of the factors constituting the “original endowment,”—with a study of its dominant characteristics; and secondly, with providing the organism with an appropriate environment, to induce particular effects.

* Pp. 9-10 of Bateson’s *Biological Fact and the Structure of Society*: Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1912.

Here, however, the fact must never be forgotten that all that this education with the help of the environmental factor is permitted to achieve is either to stimulate the expression of particular characteristics present in the original constitution of the organism—or to retard, check or suppress one or more of them ; but never to add to them, or alter the constitution itself. There the parent factors are paramount ; within the limits of the variations thus explained, there is scope for the intervention of experiments in the shape of environmental changes. You cannot turn the individual or the social organism topsy-turvy ; and substitute a wholly dissimilar pattern of character to the one originally present. There is room, no doubt, for experimental interference by means of the interposition of altered conditions of life ; but the point upon which attention of educationalists, legislators, social reformers, etc., must ever be fixed is that such alteration in the conditions *must never be interferences with the natural forces* inherent in the organism itself. For the action of the environment upon the organism is not direct but only indirect ; and so the function of the educationalist or the social reformer is limited to the work of guiding—stimulating or retarding—checking or suppressing--particular characteristics, but does not extend to creating or generating, and transmitting, by altering the constitution of the organism. His experimental interferences when they are merely arbitrary, being directed to the working out of revolutionary changes in the qualities and characters of the organism, amount to interferences with *natural forces* inherent in the organism itself, and are bound to bring about a state of *instability*. Observes Professor Bateson :—“We are all habituated to the notion that the form of a society, like that of an individual, is a consequence of an evolutionary process. To that process, experimental interference on an enormous scale is being applied, and it is inevitable that the community at large should be asking not without anxiety, how far the outcome of those *interferences* with what have usually been regarded as *natural forces* will bring good or evil to the societies which attempt them There exists a general perception on the part of the more intelligent that the present condition of the social structure in civilised States is one of extreme *instability*.”* There is undoubtedly a vast but unused individual power vested in the educationalist or the social reformer to help or hinder the expression and growth of particular qualities in the individual or the social organism, through the interposition of an environment ; but you cannot metamorphose a society merely by educational efforts, e.g., by subjecting the same to the influences of “the very best of institutions,” in pursuance of political or of ethical considerations, or considerations

* *Ibid.*, pp. 4 and 3.

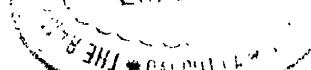
even of a higher culture and civilisation, for the primary factor in the case must always be:—How far will the environmental experiments be consistent with the natural laws operating within the organism itself?

The environmental method admittedly is not a *direct, originative* method; it can only induce *results* by indirect action, but to produce, independently and directly, positive (beneficial) results which should also be capable of being transmitted or inherited, it must always seek the co-operation of the organism itself,—the co-operation of the factors of inheritance. As Professor D. G. Ritchie, M.A.,* of the University of St. Andrews remarks :—“It will make a great difference **what kind of natures we have for the best institutions to work upon.**”

VI

The same idea may be brought out in clearer relief in another manner. For, to many minds the whole problem of Education in India centres round one fundamental question—How far will the effects of an occidental education continue to last, if such education is conducted and imparted under a system—which should be a system not of evolution, a drawing out or development of the inborn forces and factors of the Indian social organism, but should represent a system imposed upon it from without? May it not be practicable, the question is asked, by systematic educational efforts to impose a definite stamp, a sort of *permanent* character of a Western type, upon the Indian mind, which would be directly the product of Western environment or of an approximation thereof—and which is not to be, to use the language of biologists, a mere inborn variation,—which would not be essentially a variation of the existing Indian type. It is admitted that where the educational experiments are directly correlated to the inborn aptitudes or the inherent qualities and characteristics of the organism—so that the environment directly serves as a stimulus or opportunity helping on the expression of particular capacities and tendencies inherent in the organism—the problem of education resolves itself into one of the planning and adjusting of particular educational arrangements favourable to such expression. But it is asked,—supposing we did not take much account of these inborn factors, but were more concerned with checking them or suppressing them, and further supposing we wanted in addition, to achieve positive results by seeking to superimpose upon the Indian mind a character of our own—a type of character, for instance, framed according to Western standards,—which should be definitely the work of an exclusively occidental training—how far might we hope to succeed in the attempt? The problem of education from an

* Page v. of Introduction of “Darwinism and Politics” by David G. Ritchie, London, Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1909.



exclusively Indian point of view may be made easy enough, we grant, by following the laws of heredity, by working out, educationally and legislatively, the factors of inheritance; but the issue that we would raise,—Is it not possible without much reference to these last-mentioned factors, but by placing the growing Indian mind in an appropriate Western environment or an approximation thereof (such as should be practicable in India) to induce *permanently* a type of character which would be in consonance with and representative of Western standards? For, as Sir Valentine Chirol puts it in one of his famous Letters (No. xxviii) to the London *Times* (1910) on *The Crux of the Educational Problem*:—“*Good government* involves as little interference as possible with the beliefs and customs and traditions of the people; whereas *good education* means the substitution for them of the intellectual and moral conceptions of what we regard as our higher civilisation. *Good government* represents to that extent a process of conservation; *good education* must be partially a destructive, almost a revolutionary, process.” If this “almost revolutionary process” of Western education is to be successfully accomplished, admittedly no particular reference or obedience to the laws of social heredity, to the factors of inheritance, is either possible or contemplated; and so an almost unlimited demand is made upon the powers of a superimposed occidental environment to effect a fundamental change in the Indian character along the lines dictated by a higher policy—a change which, in Sir Valentine Chirol’s language just quoted, would be in the nature of “a substitution (for the beliefs, customs and traditions of the Indian people) of the intellectual and moral conceptions of what we regard as our higher civilisation.” Accordingly, the same authority in his Letter No. xxv on “The Indian Student” makes the subject of his special animadversion one feature of the existing educational system in India, which is, that the Indian student is permitted to live in “purely Indian surroundings”, and that as a consequence he may very often “go through his whole course of studies without ever coming into personal contact with an Englishman”—a circumstance which, in his opinion, is sufficient to account for the fact that “the student is unable under such conditions to assimilate Western knowledge, or to form even a remote conception of the customs and traditions, let alone the ideals, embodied in Western knowledge.” (Letter xxv) The whole point of Sir Valentine Chirol’s argument is that Western education imparted amidst purely Indian surroundings is an anomaly, which has resulted in producing a type of men who are incapable of obtaining an insight into “the inwardness of Western thought, Western ethics and Western ideals.” Sir Valentine’s description of the existing conditions under which

Western knowledge is imparted to Indian students and which in his opinion is sufficient to account for its present failure "from the point of view of the formation of character according to Western standards," may be given in his own words:—"In the secondary schools in the chief town of the district, or in a university town, the Indian student boards with friends of his family, if they have any, or in lodgings amidst *purely Indian surroundings*, and his only contact with the Western world is through school-books in a foreign tongue....From the secondary school he passes for his university course, if he gets so far, in precisely the same circumstances into a college which is merely a higher form of school. Whilst attending college our student continues to live amidst the *same purely Indian surroundings*, and his contact with the Western world is still limited to his text-books. Even the best native teacher can hardly interpret that Western world to him as a trained European can, and unless our student intends to become a doctor or an engineer, and has to pass through the schools of medicine or engineering, where he is bound to be a good deal under English teachers, he may perfectly well, and very often does, go through his whole course of studies in school and in college *without ever coming into personal contact with an Englishman*. How can he be expected under such conditions to assimilate Western knowledge or to form even a remote conception of the customs and traditions, let alone the ideals, embodied in Western knowledge?" (Letter xxv to the London *Times*, 1910).

And Sir Valentine Chirol sums up his whole view of the situation by the observation that "the fundamental weakness of our educational system is that the average Indian student cannot bring his education into any direct relation with the world in which, outside the class or lecture-room, he continues to live. *For that world is still the old Indian world of his forefathers, and it is as far removed as the poles asunder from the Western world which claims his education.* I am not speaking of the relatively still very small class amongst whom Western ideas are already sufficiently acclimatised for the parents to be able to supplement in their own *homes* the education given to the children in our schools and colleges. Nor am I speaking of the students who live in hostels under the superintendence of high-minded missionaries such as those of the Oxford Mission in Calcutta. Those also form but a small minority. In Calcutta, for instance, out of 4,500 students, 1,000 live in hostels, and not all hostels are by any means satisfactory. In the Indian Universities there is no collegiate life such as English Universities afford, and in India most of the secondary schools as well as colleges are non-residential." (Letter xxv) The whole brunt of Sir Valentine's argument is directed against what he calls the absurdity of the existing

system under which *Western* education is sought to be imparted in purely *Indian* surroundings ; for, according to him, a supreme value and importance attaches to the influence of an appropriate occidental environment on the Indian student, in effecting a fundamental and permanent change in his character in a direction favoured by Western standards. This apotheosis of the factors of environment in the individual's life (as contradistinguished from the factors of his inheritance) finds fitting expression in another passage in the same Letter, where Sir Valentine clinches his argument by adducing the following hypothetical case :—“ Try and imagine for a moment, however absurd it may seem, what would have been the effect upon the brains of the youth of our own country if it had been subject to Chinese rule for the last 100 years and the Chinese, without interfering with our own social customs or with our religious beliefs, had taken charge of higher education and insisted upon conveying to our youth a course of purely Chinese instruction imparted through Chinese text-books, and taught mainly by Englishmen for the most part only one degree more familiar than the pupils with the inwardness of Chinese thought and Chinese ethics.” And the conclusion to which the argument leads Sir Valentine is, that there is need for keeping the Indian student away from “ purely Indian surroundings ” and placing him, during the period of his studentship at any rate, in an atmosphere of collegiate and university social life where in the company of Western teachers he might live and move amidst (as far as is possible) occidental influences, which would soon in due process develop into fixed *traditions of such collegiate and university life.* Again, observes the same distinguished authority—“ In Western countries the education given in our schools, from the Board school to the University, is always more or less on the same plane as that of the class from which the boys who attend them are drawn. It is merely the continuation and the complement of the education our children receive in their own homes from the moment of their birth, and it moves on the same lines as the world in which they live and move and have their being. In India with rare exceptions it is not so, but exactly the reverse.” (Letter XXV).—And the inference which Sir Valentine is led to draw from the above is,—*not* that the further education in schools or colleges for the Indian student should proceed along the lines of growth and development (following the precedent set by Western countries), while he remains in contact with Western influences,—and so is able to assimilate what is assimilable and reject what is incongruous or arbitrary,—but the inference is that the lines along which the education of the Indian student should proceed should be exactly the reverse of the natural evolutionary process, the reverse of the natural order of things,—should embody, in fact, a *schæme* of

education according to which the student should be taken out of his Indian surroundings, placed in a wholly (as far as practicable) Western atmosphere, for such indeed must be the environment amidst which the Indian student must live and work, with a view to the "formation of his character according to Western standards."

VII

(A)

Hitherto under the old educational régime, the whole emphasis was laid upon the training of the *intellect* and *intelligence* of the university alumni, which was carried out on Western lines, by which it was also hoped a transformation of the *character* of the educated Indian along the same lines would be necessarily effected. "We have", observe the signatories of the Education Despatch of 1854, in paragraph 3 (reproducing a passage in the Court of Directors' Despatch of 5th Sept., 1827), "looked upon the encouragement of education as peculiarly important, because calculated not only to produce a higher degree of *intellectual* fitness, but to raise the *moral* character of those who partake of its advantages;" and further on in paragraph 7, we read—"before proceeding further, we must emphatically declare that the education which we desire to see extended in India is that which has for its object the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy, and literature of Europe; in short, of European *knowledge*." And again in paragraph 10 of the same Despatch, with special reference to a wider diffusion of European *knowledge*, the Despatch says:—"The people of India should be made familiar with the works of European authors and with the results of the thought and labour of Europeans on the subjects of every description upon which *knowledge* is to be imparted to them; and to extend the means of imparting this *knowledge* must be the *object* of any general system of education." [The word, *object*, is put in italics in the Despatch.] And in paragraph 75, in the matter of appointments under Government, it was laid down that "where the other qualifications of the candidates are equal, a person who has received a good English education, *irrespective of the place or manner in which it may have been acquired*, should be preferred to one who has not."

- Now, going backwards to the early twenties of the last century, we note that on the 29th September, 1830, the Court of Directors addressed a Despatch to the Government in this country urging the importance of encouraging a thorough knowledge of English in the conviction that "*the higher tone and better spirit of European literature can produce their full effect*" only on those who become familiar with them in *original* languages." Further, the same Despatch pointed out that

intelligent Natives, who had been thus educated, might be teachers in colleges and schools, or as the writers and translators of useful books, contributors in an eminent degree to the more general extension amongst their countrymen of a portion of the acquirements which they had themselves gained and might "communicate in some degree to the Native Literature, and to the minds of the Native Community, that improved spirit which, it is to be hoped, they will themselves have imbibed *from the influence of European ideas and sentiments*" The Government was urged to make it generally known that "every qualified Native, who would zealously devote himself to such a task would be held in high honour; that every assistance and encouragement, pecuniary or otherwise, which the case might require, would be liberally afforded; and that no service which it was in the power of a Native to render to the British Government would be more highly acceptable." Similarly, in the Despatch of September 5, 1827 from the Court of Directors we also find the following passages:—"There is no point of view in which we look with greater interest at the exertions you are now making for the instruction of the Natives, than as being calculated to raise up a class of persons qualified by *...e:
x* intelligence and morality for high employment in the civil administration of India. As the means of bringing about this most desirable object, *we rely chiefly on their becoming, through a familiarity with European literature and science, imbued with the ideas and feelings of civilised Europe, on the general cultivation of their understandings, and specially on the instruction in the principles of morals and jurisprudence.*" And again, in another paragraph of the same Despatch—"We desire that the discipline of these institutions may be mainly directed towards raising among the students that *rational self-esteem* which is the best security against degrading vices; and we particularly direct that the greatest pains may be taken to create habits of veracity and fidelity by inspiring the youths with a due sense of their importance, and by distinguishing with the approbation of Government, or its discontinuance, those who do or do not possess those qualifications."

And so from the first quarter of the last century down to its end, the dominant note among British Indian Administrators was that a diffusion of Western *knowledge* or the training of the intellect—in other words, intellectual education in Western literature and science, would be enough to produce a type of *character* conformable to Western standards and ideals,—would be enough, in short, adopting Sir Valentine Chirol's words, to make Indian students "partners of Western culture and civilisation." This was the first and most significant error which was at the bottom of the idea formulated by Macaulay that "the

ultimate objective of Western education of the higher kind in India should be "to form a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect."

(B)

In other words, the assumption was that the acquirement of Western *knowledge*—of European literature and science by the Indian would constitute a force powerful enough to influence his whole being, to effect a radical transformation—that is to say, a transformation of "character." The knowledge that was to be given, it was supposed, would not sit lightly upon the Indian student, as a sort of an adjunct or appurtenance which could be brought into requisition when wanted, or laid aside when the occasion arose,—but that it would be powerful enough of itself to act upon the whole system, moral and mental, of the fortunate recipient of Western knowledge, and so mould the formation of his "character" according to occidental standards. That was the ground idea ; that was the belief, almost instinctive in its character, of the statesmen of the last century,—a belief, namely, in the sovereign virtues of knowledge and of training in European literature and science, in relation to the effect to be produced upon the whole character and bearing and life of the student. The whole emphasis was laid upon the acquirement of an exclusively secular European knowledge—as a factor which was of itself sufficient to influence the "character," that is to say, the whole inner apparatus of the man receiving such knowledge. And so the Despatch of 1854 did not insist upon "*the place or manner in which such knowledge may have been acquired.*" (Paragraph 75.) The stress that was laid by it was wholly upon "the high *moral tone* which pervades the general literature of Europe" (paragraph 77) ; and upon the "general diffusion" of an exclusively secular *European knowledge*, as the one means to be adopted to bring about a radical change in the ideals of the Indian people. "To imbue a vast and ignorant population with a general desire for *knowledge*, and to take advantage of that desire when excited, to improve the means for *diffusing education* amongst them must be a work of many years ; which, by the blessing of Divine Providence, may largely conduce to the moral and intellectual improvement of the mass of the natives of India." (Paragraph 99 of the Education Despatch of 1854.) Contrast with the above Sir Valentine Chirol's lament over the failure of a system of mere cultivation of the Indian intellect, as pursued under the existing educational system inaugurated by the Despatch of 1854 ; a system under which Western knowledge is imparted to Indian students in an environment which is not occidental, but wholly or almost wholly Indian, so that in

most cases "the Indian student does go through his whole course of studies in school and in college without ever coming into personal contact with an Englishman." And consequently it is opined that it would not be possible "*under such conditions to assimilate Western knowledge, or to form even a remote conception of the customs and traditions, let alone the ideals, embodied in Western knowledge?*" Thus is given a clear go-by to the theory enunciated in the Despatches of 1854, 1830, and 1827, to which we have already drawn attention,—to the theory namely—that the imparting of Western secular knowledge, "irrespective of the place or manner in which it may have been acquired" was by itself a sovereign factor in the formation of the student's character. "We rely chiefly," says the Despatch of 1827, "on the Natives becoming, through a familiarity with European literature and science, imbued with the ideas and feelings of civilised Europe,"—a declaration which is repeated in the Despatch of 1830, when it refers to the "improved spirit which the Natives will have imbibed from the influence of European ideas and sentiments."

(C)

The sovereign virtues of mere knowledge—exclusively secular European knowledge—have been utterly (since 1901) considerably discounted. "In the forefront of their policy", declares Lord Hardinge's Education Resolution of 21st February, 1913, "the Government of India desire to place the formation of character of the scholars and undergraduates under tuition." (*Ibid.*, para. 4). And the Resolution proceeds to observe that "the tendency of existing systems of education in India is to develop the intellectual at the expense of the moral and religious faculties." (*Ibid.*, para. 5). And so the era of what Lord Minto in his Calcutta Convocation Address of 1908 calls *The New Ideal in Education* has been inaugurated—the new ideal mainly centring round the proposition that the acquirement of Western knowledge by itself would not be sufficient to form the student's character, but that a proportionate emphasis must also be laid upon the "environment" of the student during the period of his studentship. Western knowledge plus Western environment (as much as possible)—these two must go together if the attempt to "form the character of the student" is likely to be attended with any hope of real success. That is the underlying idea of the scheme of residential colleges and residential universities for India. Even so far back as the middle eighties of the last century, we note a passing but definite allusion to the principle that the environment in which the student received his education was no less important, from the point of view of "the formation of character according to Western standards", than the imparting of Western knowledge itself. Thus, in the Report of the

Education Commission of 1882, we find the following significant passages—"In the scheme of discipline, and in the academic life of their students, Indian colleges have but little analogy with those of the older of the English Universities, their resemblance being closer to those of Scotland and Germany. Residence in college buildings is not only not generally compulsory, but the colleges are few in which any systematic provision is made for *control over the students' pursuits out of college hours*. Boarding houses are indeed attached to certain institutions, and their number increases year by year. But unless the student's home be at a distance from the collegiate city and he have no relatives to receive him, it is seldom that he will incur the expense which residence involves.....In the more important Bombay colleges, a considerable number of the students are in residence; in Bengal and Madras, the system has been less fully recognised. Yet it is the one thing which will give the Departmental Officer a *hold upon the lives of those whose intellects he trains with such sedulous elaboration*. From any attempt to touch the religious side of a student's character, the Government Educational Officer is debarred by the principle of religious neutrality. All the more important, therefore, is it that he should be able to *exercise the moral influence of a close and watchful discipline.*" (Ibid., pp. 272-273). The idea propounded above by the Education Commission of the early eighties of the last century, however, was not discussed or referred to in the Resolution of the Government of India* on the Report of the Commission ; for the belief in the principles laid down in the Despatches of 1827, 1830 and 1854 touching the influence on character exerted by acquired knowledge of the Western secular type still held prominent sway.

VIII

(A)

Just as in the case of a system of Western education conducted on lines of a mere diffusion of Western secular knowledge, without much reference to the character of the surroundings—Indian or Western—amidst which such education was to be imparted: so also in the case of the revised scheme just adopted by the Government of India of imparting Western knowledge to the Indian student by placing him in an environment which should as far as possible approximate to that which obtains in the older universities of England,—the dominating theory and belief has been that such education should be able to affect and re-organise the entire man—that is to say, influence not only his intellect and intelligence, but also his *character*, conformably to Western standards. The ideal behind the recent adoption of the

* Home Department (Education) Resolution No. 389, dated 23rd October, 1884.

schemes of residential colleges and universities is that the formation of character on the basis of Western standards is not possible merely through the acquirement of the secular knowledge of Europe—its literature and science, but could only be hoped for as the result of a healthy and vigorous college and university life and discipline, framed as far as possible in conformity to standards and conditions obtaining in the older residential universities of England. The influence of environment, *irrespective of the internal conditions, that is to say, independently of the factors of inheritance*, would be able, it is believed, to transform Indian character and re-mould it into the form and shape demanded by Western standards. The power of environment (academic) which has shown itself to be so decisive a factor in the formation of the student's character in the older English Universities is conceived and assumed to be a power which could work out results for itself, i.e., on its own initiative, which could depend, in other words, for achievement on its own capacities, independently of the co-operation it might receive, or the resistance it might encounter, at the hands of the organism upon which such environment might be called upon to act.

(B)

Here, however, at the very outset, a striking and distinguishing feature in the case must be carefully noted,—which is, that in England the environment amidst which the student is placed is not intended or required to help in the accomplishment of any radical transformation or metamorphosis of the student's nature, but simply becomes an agent that provides the necessary stimulus, guidance or opportunity for the individual's character to unfold itself *from within*. The formation of character that is there attempted through the agency of the academic environment lies along the path of an ordered, progressive growth—of evolution *from within*. Nothing in the shape of a superposition—of a substitution of one type of character and ideals (whether demanded by political or other exigencies) for an already existing type—which also is native to the soil—is attempted. The factors of environment and the factors of inheritance—do not in the case of English students reading at the residential universities come into clash or conflict; seeing that the individual student upon which the English academic environment is called upon to act is not required to be so trained and disciplined as to make him conform to any type of character other than the English—a type which is intrinsically his own as part of his racial or national heritage. The Indian problem, therefore, is not exactly on all fours with the problem of education as it obtains in England; and the theory of the power of (academic) environment would not consequently have a right application, if in India the object should be with the aid of

such environment to seek to radically alter the *inherited* character of the Indian student and to re-mould it along ways demanded by a far-reaching scheme of British Imperialism. In India, the problem, as it presents itself before our Rulers, is how to plan, manipulate and adjust the academic environment so as to re-shape and re-form Indian character into a type that would be more or less Western, into a type which would not be characteristically Indian. British Imperialism demands that throughout the Empire there should be one typical culture and civilisation—so that the Empire might be knit together by common moral and intellectual ties, affinities and sympathies, much in the same way as the whole of the Roman Empire was once Romanised through the agency and inspiration of a common Imperial culture. The problem of education in India from the standpoint of our Rulers thus centres round the supreme question—How to educate the people of India in the Western sense,—how in fact to re-mould their character so as to subserve the purposes of a comprehensive scheme of Imperialism. In other words—the process of education for India that is contemplated is not a process of a gradual and spontaneous growth and evolution (whilst she should remain in living contact with the influences of the West)—not a growth and evolution from within of Indian character—and ideals—and traditions, which should also have the effect of preserving the moral, spiritual and historical continuity of Indian culture and civilisation ; but a process of transformation wrought from without,—which, in the opinion of responsible thinkers like Sir V. Chirol, should be in the nature of “ a substitution for the beliefs, customs and traditions of the people—of the intellectual and moral conceptions of what we regard as our higher civilisation”—a process which would consequently be “ partially a destructive, almost a revolutionary, process.” (Letter No. XXVIII to the London *Times*, 1910). In England, however, the problem is how to grow and develop all that is only characteristic of the British nature ; never to seek to replace one form or type of character by another which is already existing and is indigenous.

(C)

The difference that we have attempted to bring out is vital, fundamental ; and the question that must be seriously thought over by those responsible for the working out of the educational problem in India is,—whether the law of environment whose aid is sought to be invoked in the revised scheme of collegiate and university education for this country on the ground that it has proved of such eminent success in the development of character of English students—is a law of such *absolute* validity that it could be depended upon to produce *identical* results in England and in India, in the face of the fact that the problem with which

it is confronted in the former country is fundamentally distinguished from that which presents itself in this. To repeat a quotation from Sir V. Chirol: "In Western countries the education given in our schools, from the Board school to the University, is always more or less on the same plane as that of the class from which the boys who attend them are drawn. It is merely the continuation and the complement of the education our children receive in their own homes from the moment of their birth, and it moves on the same lines as the world in which they live and move and have their being. In India, with rare exceptions it is not so, but exactly the reverse." The question may well be asked, therefore,—"In view of this foundational difference in the character of the two problems—the problem of education for English students and that for Indian students,—are we permitted to draw any reliable inference from the admittedly beneficial action of the academic environment of English residential universities upon English students, in favour of a similar result accruing in this country. In other words,—Is the law of environment one of such *absolute* validity that it could act upon the individual human organism in any way it pleases, substituting one type of character for another, at its pleasure, when even the two types are so far apart as the Indian and the Western. The whole trend of this discussion is not in any way whatsoever to discount the advantages of the residential system, seeing that it has clearly showed itself singularly effective in the formation of the student's character and life in the older seats of learning in England. But the issue that we raise is,—whether an academic environment which is not primarily intended to *co-operate* with the deeper factors of the Indian student's inheritance,—with the capacities and qualities with which the Indian student is *endowed*,—with the characters, namely, which have been received by him as part of his national or racial heritage,—and which have further embodied themselves in cherished traditions of his country and his race,—traditions which are moral and spiritual, domestic and national, literary and artistic, or more shortly speaking, cultural,—the question we have raised is,—whether an academic atmosphere of a more or less occidental pattern, with an objective, which is mainly occidental, in its scope and bearing, *would be likely to prove an efficient school of character*. If the residential system in India should have for its primary objective, the maintenance and further improvement of all that is natural, inborn or characteristic of the Indian type—and if further its object should be to give scope and opportunity to the organism to assimilate as by a natural process all that is precious and *assimilable* in the Western type of character, so that it might become possible, as by a mode of natural incorporation, for a type to arise which should be at bottom

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and characteristically Indian and not Western,—the parallel of the residential system such as obtains in the older seats of learning in the West would hold good. The conception of residential colleges and universities is not wholly a foreign conception or ideal, historically speaking, to Indians. The names of the universities of Benares, Taxila, Naland Mithila, and Navadwip in the North, and of similar institutions in the Dravidian country in the South, recall to memory India's effort to combine the pursuit of learning with the development of character in residential and teaching universities. But there, as in England, the type of character that was sought to be produced was characteristicall native or indigenous—being a development from within, on the basis of existing indigenous foundations. The foundations of a residential system for Indian students of the present day, however, are to be laid, it appears, on European lines—so that, according to the intended plan the "formation of character according to Western standards" may be the result. The full benefits of the residential system will only be reaped, such is the belief and theory, if European lines are adopted. "Already," says the Government of India Education Resolution of 21st February, 1913, "in some first-class institutions in the country admirable arrangements have been made on European lines, to secure the full benefits of the residential system." (*Ibid.*, paragraph 6.) In all this, as will have appeared from our preceding observations, the fundamental antagonism between the differing objectives of the residential system, (1) in its relation to India and (2) in its relation to England, is either not properly grasped or is more or less slurred over and ignored. But none the less the distinction remains vital. And so the question that must press for an answer is,—not whether residential colleges and universities have not proved by means of appropriate favourable adaptations to be successful schools of character, but whether such colleges and universities, may not,—where they place themselves athwart the lines laid down by heredity, i.e., the laws of a natural, organic development—where they attempt to mould character from without along lines not conformable to the factors of a people's inheritance—whether such colleges and universities, may not prove to be ill-fitted to be true schools of character. For, their admitted objective would be to interpose interferences with natural laws and so to introduce an arbitrary element which must in the long run stamp upon the educated Indian community the stamp of instability. "The English boy when he goes to school has a groundwork,"—we are quoting from a remarkable Paper read on the 3rd July, 1913 at the third Session of the Empire Universities Congress (London) by Sir Frederick Lugard, late Chancellor of the Hong-Kong University,—"the English boy has a groundwork, not only in

the religion which has been taught him from his cradle, but he is the heir to 1900 years of Christian environment—an environment which has permeated all the custom, all the law, and all the social tradition among which he lives." And yet the problem of Western education so far, in this country, has been—How best to introduce all the above elements and factors into the life of the Indian peoples, in order "to make them," as Sir V. Chirol explains, "the intellectual partners of the civilisation that subdued them." Which means, as Sir Frederick Lugard put it in the course of his Paper at the Empire Universities Congress,—"How in advanced educational institutions, such as a University in the East, can the social tradition and atmosphere created in the West by Christian education in childhood, by Law based on and enforced in accordance with Christian ethics, by environment, and by an unwritten moral code, be effectually replaced?" Nevertheless, adopting the language of the same distinguished speaker from whose Paper we have just quoted, and whose words as those of an ex-Chancellor of an Eastern University, must carry some weight,—"the lines of Eastern thought and the lines of Eastern feeling and emotion must be studied by those who would instruct the East with entire detachment from pre-conceived ideas adapted to nations which are the outcome of 1900 years of Christianity. What is required is that those who are engaged in the teaching of Orientals should adapt their methods to the requirements of the East, instead of attempting to foist upon the East a system identical with that which in the West has by the process of natural evolution proved its adaptability to the particular circumstances of the West. The lessons of History in the East may point to an opposite conclusion to what they have taught in the West. The unit of natural life in the East is the family—and the preservation of the *patria potestas* modified by adaptation to Western methods is essential."

IX

The theory of (academic) environment, in its attempted application to the problem of the formation of character of the Indian student according to Western standards and ideals, is bound to lead to the adoption of educational methods which would be in striking contrast with the methods upon which reliance has been hitherto placed by the Government. If Western education principally consisted in diffusing as widely as possible Western knowledge, Western science and literature,—if in fact Western education was to be understood as principally a method of the acquirement of Western knowledge and the cultivation of the intellect in relation to materials supplied by Western knowledge,—and of character in so far only as an intellectual presentation of Western ideas and ideals might carry,—and if it did

not involve, further, the putting forth of systematic efforts to influence 'character' directly, by the presentation of Western ideals in the *lives* of European teachers in direct and living personal touch with students working under them,—teachers not only versed in Western learning, but also deeply stamped with the Western stamp of character,—then, of course, the problem of the diffusion of Western education would be solved, as it was sought to be solved in the Despatch of 1854, by utilising in larger and larger numbers purely Indian teachers who might have acquired a competent knowledge of Western science and literature;—and ultimately—when the supply of such Indian teachers had increased considerably—by leaving the whole of Higher Education of the country in the hands of Western-educated members of the Indian community and to private enterprise. But, if the problem be, as recently it has been decided it should be, that the education that should be imparted must appeal not merely to the intellect of the Indian student, but must seek to influence in the Western sense the whole being—moral and intellectual—of the student; if, indeed, to adopt Sir V. Chirol's language, "the ideals behind Western knowledge" should have to find entrance into and lodgment in the hearts and consciences of Indian students, so that a Western type of character might eventually emerge,—then, of course, so it is argued and believed, one great condition should be to place the students almost wholly under the influence of competent European teachers who should be able to stamp upon their mind and character the stamp of a vital, Western influence. "You cannot have a class of characters or a class of morals", said Lord Rosebery presiding at the inauguration of the Empire Universities Congress at the Imperial Institute, London (July 2, 1913), "but you can imbue *individuals* with the tone and atmosphere of your university and your professors." But—and here we are called upon to inquire into and decide upon a difficult and knotty point in Sociology—if this were all,—if the task were merely one of imbuing *individuals* up with the stamp of Western character, the problem of education in India would wear almost an easy aspect. The problem which our Rulers, however, have set themselves to work out is more serious and complex; it is not merely to stamp upon a particular generation of students the stamp of Western culture or of Western habits of life, but the problem is further to make sure that to the next succeeding and succeeding generations may be inevitably *transmitted* the culture and character which a particular body of individuals, a given generation, may have received during their lifetime. The question is, How far is this possible? Is it justified by the workings of the law of Heredity? For, if the law of Heredity does not

help in effecting a transmission of characters acquired by a generation of Indian students to their offspring who should form the next succeeding generation of students, then the problem of ensuring the growth from within of a body of *traditions* conformable to Western standards would be a task of almost insuperable difficulty. You may plant any amount of Western ideas and ideals on the Indian soil, but in order that they may not remain exotic, but get **rooted** to the soil, and so succeed in reproducing and transmitting from generation to generation a body of traditions as part of the inherited, corporate life of the community, it is absolutely necessary that you should seek the aid and co-operation of the law of hereditary transmission. The whole point centres round the proposition that a whole scheme of ideas may be imported from without, and imposed on an organism, but in order that the same may grow and develop naturally, spontaneously, and profitably, they must not remain an importation, they must **take root**, so that their growth must be a **growth from within**; they must not remain a superimposed layer which works upon the individual organism from without and at best affects that organism during its life-time. Such a superimposed body of ideas may for a time—for a pretty long time—for the environmental method may be continued long enough even through several generations—the superimposed body of ideas may *suppress*, by overwhelming, the native forces working within the organism, but they cannot destroy them irretrievably. And so a reaction *from within* may, after a term, after a period of prolonged suppression, set in in favour of the older ideas—the older inherited ideas (overwhelmed and suppressed but not destroyed by forces from outside); and when such happens—as it does happen—this reaction against the body of superimposed ideas,—this reversion to the older body of (suppressed) traditional ideas—is given the name of a *Renaissance* by our historians and sociologists. Therefore, in a true scheme of education, the essential point should always be to make sure that the imported scheme may after a time become indigenous, *taking root in the soil and growing from within*. But this growth from within, this incorporation of outside elements—moral, mental, spiritual, and æsthetic—into the very marrow and substance of the organism—this introduction of external, foreign ideas and principles into the secret internal mechanism of the individual—such that the foreign external substance may no longer remain foreign and external, but become native and indigenous—how is this *vital* transformation to be effected, by what power or instrument is this strange process of amalgamation to be realised? Merely by treating the organism to greater and

greater doses of environmental influences? Or, is it not absolutely necessary that we should make sure that the forces of environment are not antagonised, but are helped, by the forces of heredity, are helped, that is to say, by the action of *natural forces*, so that the imported scheme of life may take root and grow *from within*, developing a body of traditions which under such circumstances of inner growth would be native-born? But when, as in the case of the Indian student in India (unlike what happens in the case of the English student in the English residential universities), the environmental method is to be applied to purposes—not of co-operation with the natural factors of inheritance (*vide sect. viii ante*),—but of prosecuting a radical scheme of transformation of inherited characteristics in directions favoured by Western standards and ideals, which, however, in many essential respects are not the national or characteristic standards and ideals of India,—how are our statesmen justified in assuming that the natural inherited forces governing the Indian social organism would come to their aid? For, in the matter of the social transformation or revolution of the kind to which English statesmen and administrators have set their hands, nothing or not much would be achieved eventually, unless Western ideals and standards attain to the footing of *traditions* in this land,—which implies that the Indians should have, by reason of their *organic* connection with the community, to receive, as part of their communal heritage, certain tendencies and capacities of a Western stamp,—should have to receive them, in fact, as part of their inheritance from the soil, i.e., from their parents in the latter's capacity as children of the soil. The essential character of traditions is that they come to the individual by reason of his being part and parcel of the community, and so traditions are not individual, but communal, corporate characteristics. If Western ideals and standards are to find an effective entrance into and lodgment in the social body politic of India, and not remain isolated factors confined to particular individuals, distinguishing them by certain traits during their life-time, —they must become communal traditions, being received by the individual at his birth as part of communal life and transmitted from old to young by a process of instinctive, imitative absorption. This process of instinctive learning—of plastic absorption of the lessons of community life—this handing down from generation to generation of standards and ideals is *primarily* the result of transmission of the factors of inheritance; and only subsidiarily, the result of acquirement by the individual,—the significance of which is that the inherited factors being strongest make the work of learning an almost unconscious process—a process of absorption—spontaneous, rapid, imitative, natural. Thus, there are in this process of traditionary acquirement two elements

—one of inheritance, the other of acquirement, but this latter becomes, by reason of the stronger presence of the elements of inheritance; an almost unconscious, spontaneous process of absorption—and *not a process of conscious, voluntary intention and reflective judgment.*

X

The contention for which we are pleading is that in the work of transforming Western standards and ideals, concepts and canons into so many forms—mental, moral, aesthetic, and spiritual—of communal tradition, there is need to invoke the aid of heredity, of the factors of inheritance. By which is meant that no appeal to the faculties of judgment and reason, or of the ethical or the imaginative factors, in favour of particular ideals, standards and concepts would, even if the same be supported by an adequate and prolonged environmental treatment, be productive of *lasting* results to a community, unless, *by the operation of the laws of inheritance*, those ideals, etc., are transformed into communal traditions, i.e., traditions, persisting in a community through an inner or natural law of necessity, and so not requiring to be propped up by a perpetual process of external, (i.e., environmental) support and treatment. And it is our further contention that the laws of inheritance would not favour such conversion of imported standards and ideals, if these last are found to be subversive of, antagonistic to, or in conflict with, the natural or inherited factors or forces. On the one hand, there is no hope for the imported ideals and standards taking root and finding a lasting lodgment in a community *as a community* (—such as should prevent the possibility of a Renaissance, i.e., a reversion to the older inherited standards of the community)—unless these imported elements and factors are in due process converted into *communal* traditions. On the other hand, such a conversion is only possible by a process of hereditary transmission. The argument that traditions favouring particular imported standards and ideals arise or may arise among a community by a process of long-continued and strenuous appeal to the intellect, the judgment, and the moral and imaginative faculties of the members composing the community ;—and the further argument that the development of such traditions may be helped by adequate environmental treatment extended over a sufficiently long period of time, e.g., by surrounding each successive generation of individuals, from their youth upwards, with institutions and laws and customs based or modelled, for instance, on the particular imported standards and ideals mentioned above :—both the above arguments imply and involve *certain especial conditions of success*—which are tacitly assumed to be present in every case by thoroughgoing

advocates of an exclusive or one-sided Environmental Method, but which as a matter of actual fact, on closer analysis may not be discoverable in any particular case or cases that may form the subject-matter of investigation. Thus, we know, for instance, that mentality is a factor which varies with different peoples and races.* Then, again, the *moral and spiritual factors* of different peoples and races are in many cases separated from one another by such wide divergencies as to be capable of being comprehended and explained only on the hypothesis of permanent, foundational or inborn differences—**differences not in degree but in kind**. Similarly, also, in the matter of the *aesthetic factors*. Therefore, the argument that traditions in favour of particular standards and ideals may arise in a community through the efforts only of a systematic and persistent course of (combined) treatment of the kind which we have alluded to above, would not be valid for any particular case, unless it should appear that in respect of such particular case the indigenous, communal traditions and ideals and the imported ideals do not differ between themselves by any difference in kind, but differ only by differences in degree. Where there is this difference in degree, there is no vital clash or antagonism between the two standards; and *there*, under a proper and systematic environmental treatment, it should be possible for the communal organism to grow and develop *from within* in the intended direction. Where, however, the indigenous forces are separated from the imported factors by differences in kind, it cannot be said that an evolution *from within*, in the particular direction sought for, is after all really capable of accomplishment. Therefore, we come back to the old question :—

Could the influences of surrounding conditions of life (*when they do not co-operate, but are admittedly in conflict, with the factors of inheritance*) enter deeply into the very heart and marrow of the inner system, moral and mental, of the individual, so as to transform the inherited constitution. For, in that case only, such is the contention of the advocates of the Law of Heredity, should the characters that may be "acquired" by the individual "during his life-time" be liable to be transmitted to his offspring, through a process

* The Government of India in their Education Resolution of 21st February, 1913 refers to this factor of "mentality," as applied to the Indian and the Western peoples, to explain the modest measure of success attained by the efforts of Government in the field of Education. Thus :—"The defects of educational systems in India are well-known and need not be re-stated.....Criticism based on imperfect analogies is often unjust. It is not just, for instance, to compare Indian systems still, for the most part, in their infancy with the matured systems of the modern Western world, or to disregard the influences of social organisation and mentality." (Ibid., para. 3).

of physiological necessity. If the contention of this last school is correct and the answer is—that the forces of environment could not succeed in working such a fundamental change in the very constitution of the organism, i.e., in the factors of inheritance—as it is intended that they should in the case of the Indian student, then the acquired habits and characters of one generation of students would not pass inevitably to the next succeeding. In the case of the Indian student, there would admittedly be no co-operation between the factors of his inheritance and those of his Western environment; for the objective of the Western environment for the Indian student is not the development of his character from within, i.e., along evolutionary channels, but the objective is to seek to re-mould and re-form the original character from without along ways demanded by Western standards; to substitute, in fact, for the indigenous type, the Western type of character, if, of course, that could be made at all possible. It is accepted on all hands that when the factors of environment do not come into clash with the factors of inheritance, but, on the contrary, provide the necessary co-operation with them, they become so many needed opportunities for the growth and expression of the inborn qualities of the organism; and in such case, the characters, capacities and qualities developed by one generation of learners may well pass on to the next succeeding generation almost automatically, by the physiological process of heredity. The force of this proposition is in no way neutralised, if it also happens (as it does) that the inborn capacities and tendencies with which this second generation is *endowed* from its birth should fail to show themselves objectively, as where the *opportunity* for such expression (of the inherent factors) is not present. For, every hereditary capacity, every inborn quality, is bound to remain dormant or unexpressed, unless there is present the outward stimulus of an appropriate environment *co-operating* with the factors of inheritance of the organism and enabling it to show forth all its inherent, inborn powers and capacities. As pointed out by authorities on the subject of Heredity, "a given hereditary feature may be present, but the corresponding character may fail to show itself owing to the absence of the necessary stimulus, and that what are transmitted are the factors of inheritance,—or particular capacities and tendencies,"* which may be present and inherent in the individual organism, but is bound to remain dormant, unless and until the opportunity is afforded to it of development *from within*, through the co-operation of an appropriate stimulus or environment. And so the primary question recurs again and again—How far should

* Edwin S. Goodrich, F. R. S., *The Evolution of Living Organism* (1912), p. 38

it be possible to effect a vital alteration in the very constitution, i.e., in the factors of inheritance, of the Indian student, by placing him in an environment which would not co-operate, but is admittedly in conflict, with the inherited factors. It may, indeed, be a comparatively easy task to introduce during their life-time definite alterations in the modes of living, in the habits, manners and outlook of a particular generation of Indian students placed amidst an occidental environment in a residential university. Nevertheless, notwithstanding all outward appearances, such alterations may well remain *superficial*; and the crucial test whereby it would be possible to say once for all that they are not superficial but vital, is that all such modifications of character induced during their life-time in this generation of students through the action of an environment which is in conflict with the factors of inheritance—the crucial test is that they must be capable of being transmitted, of being inherited. So long as they are not transmitted to the next succeeding generation by the factors of inheritance, the modifications effected by the influences of such environment (acting as they do, in the case of the Indian students, in opposition to the forces of inheritance), cannot be said to count for much. We may, no doubt, derive some sort of pleasure from the thought that a given generation of Indian students has been won over to the "cause"—but truly speaking—from the point of view of science and life—the transformation that has been effected must, notwithstanding all appearances to the contrary, be pronounced not to have entered deeply into the inner system of their lives—or otherwise they would be inherited. Thus, the problem would remain unsolved if we were not reasonably assured that such modifications of character as might be manifested by a particular generation of Indian students trained in a residential university would be capable of being transmitted; for the difficulty is always there, namely, that of knowing for certain that the influences to which a generation of students may be subjected by the influences of an environment which does not co-operate, but is in conflict, with the factors of their inheritance, would so deeply affect those inherent or inborn factors which constitute the whole inner system of their moral and mental lives,—that as a natural consequence the particular forms of character which they might have acquired during their life-time would not pass away with their death, but would be handed down to their children and their children's children.

[PART SECOND ENDED]

ERRATA—In the above article, on page 225, line 12 (from bottom), in place of 'replace' read 'substitute', and in place of 'by' read 'for'. Also on page 229, line 17 (from bottom), in place of 'characters' read 'character'. Also on 229, line 19 (from bottom), omit 'up'. Also on page 233, line 7 (from bottom, footnote), in place of 'refers' read 'refer'.

THE LONDON MORNING POST'S ADVOCACY OF THE CLAIMS OF INDIAN CRAFTSMANSHIP :

[FROM THE STANDPOINT OF LABOUR AS A MEANS OF CREATIVE ACTIVITY
AND HIGHER LIFE]

[PRELIMINARY NOTE BY THE EDITOR :—In the issue of June 28, 1913 of the London *Morning Post*, a most influential organ of English Conservative opinion, there appeared a long editorial which is a remarkable defence of the claims of indigenous Indian craftsmanship generally, and also in especial reference to the building of the New Delhi. The article is written from the standpoint of practical policy affecting the permanent well-being of India as well as of the British Raj. The point of view urged is that the claims of indigenous Indian labour are identified with the claims of a happy, contented, and truly national life; and so far, the question of Indian art and architecture is more than an artistic question. And the writer of the article further shows that his standpoint has a wider bearing and applies equally in the case of English life and English labour. "All that English life has lost and all that English labour has lost by the total separation of architecture from life and labour, it would take us long to indicate."¹ Thus, the article in the London journal draws pointed attention to the evil effects on English national life resulting from the divorce and cutting off of English labour from all imaginative and creative activity through the stunting and degradation of English craftsmanship to a mere mechanical occupation.

Founding its arguments especially on a recognition of the essential needs of all labour, whether English or Indian, and the interests of a happy, contented, national life, the London journal argues at considerable length against the imposition of foreign standards and ideals upon Indian indigenous labour (whose traditions are still living and capable of development), and draws attention to one unavoidable consequence of such attempt, which is that it would inevitably have a paralysing effect on the creative output of labour. "The tragedy within a tragedy occurs when, being called upon to adjudicate for a foreign race"—we are quoting from a previous article of the London journal, reproduced in full in the March, 1913 issue of this magazine—~~"we~~ proceed to force our standard upon them and by main force fasten round their neck the yoke we long ago bound upon our own. Only

¹. These words were used by the London *Morning Post* in the course of a very striking editorial article appearing in its issue of January 22, 1913, where the claims of Indian indigenous builders were vigorously advocated in connection with the New Delhi architecture. The full text of the article was reproduced in the March, 1913 number of this journal, which the interested reader is invited to look up.

in the case of India that yoke is even more irksome; for, whereas between ourselves and classic art there may exist at least a kind of cultured and intellectual affinity, between India and classic art there exists an absolute and entire estrangement. It is as though an all-conquering China should inflict upon England a new capital in the Pagoda style, by way of encouraging our loyalty and esteem for the Celestial Empire." In its issue of June 28, 1913, the London journal devotes considerable space to an exposition of "the intimate connection which exists between a fully developed craftsmanship *enjoying its natural opportunities*, and the health, content and well-being of a nation." The question of a renewal of prestige to Indian art judged from the wider standpoint of the essential needs of all labour, whether Indian or English, is, therefore, in its opinion, more than an artistic question. Such a renewal of prestige is bound to produce the most beneficial effects upon Indian life and labour—and would also favourably affect the well-being of the British Raj itself; while at the same time it would provide a most wholesome corrective to the present-day tendencies and theories about labour obtaining in England and in Europe generally, where labour is divorced from life. "Labour made mechanical—that is to say, labour not acted on by man's higher faculties—is degraded labour; but to degrade labour is to degrade labourer. Labour is the law of life, and never till the crack of doom will a nation's life be other than unhappy, so long as its labour is of the kind which exercises the lower rather than the higher instincts in men's character."

Such is the standpoint, the standpoint of common sense, of sociology, as well as of statesmanship, which is sought to be brought home to us by the writer of the article. The article, however, was written in special reference to some of the issues raised by Mr. E. B. Havell in a Letter to the Editor which appeared in the *Morning Post* on the date on which the former appeared. For the better understanding of the article itself, the following passages in Mr. Havell's Letter are reproduced:— "The building of the New Delhi is not only the greatest architectural opportunity that has occurred under British Rule in India, *it is an opportunity of practical policy affecting the well-being both of India and of the British Raj*, the importance of which can hardly be exaggerated. ~~The extermination~~ of Indian art and craft which has been greatly accelerated by Indian departmentalism in the last fifty years is *more than an artistic question*. The economic pressure tends to promote unrest in India as it does in Europe. Every new outlet for artistic employment opened, or old one made wider, is a guarantee for law and order. Every good handicraftsman forced into menial occupations, or quill-driving is not only a loss to Indian revenues, but a direct contribution to the elements of sedition and disorder. Can we afford it?"]

I

[Full Text of the Leading Article in the London Morning Post for June 28, 1913]

There are one or two sentences in Mr. Havell's Letter on the Delhi transaction in to-day's *Morning Post* which are as applicable to English affairs as to Indian. "The extermination of Indian art and craft, which has been going on apace for the last fifty years is more than an artistic question," is one of these significant sentences; and it is followed by two others: "Every new outlet for artistic employment opened, or old one made wider, is a guarantee for law and order. Every good handicraftsman forced into menial labour or quill-driving is not only a loss to Indian revenues but a direct contribution to the elements of sedition and discontent." What is remarkable about these sentences is that they recognise the intimate connection which exists between a fully-developed craftsmanship enjoying its natural opportunities on the one hand, and the health, content and well-being of the nation on the other. To degrade or stunt craftsmanship, to turn it into a mechanical operation, *to divorce and cut it off from imaginative and creative activity*, is to foster a spirit of restlessness, misery, and sullen discontent among the people at large. This is a fact which we need to remember. We are constantly tending to forget it. Nothing is more curious in the development of racial and national crises than the difference between symptoms as they affect the nation and as they affect the individual. To the individual the circumstances to which he has grown accustomed, and in which he was born and bred, which he did not see the beginning of, and does not expect to see the end of, appear permanent and inevitable. Yet these same circumstances in the national life are realisable as passing ills, and seem to be not fixed but fugitive. Many an evil we deplore yet suppose irremediable, and which we speak of to each other as a thing which we must accept and learn to reconcile ourselves to, will be viewed in the ultimate survey of history as a cloud no bigger than a man's hand. The sickness we see no end to is England's measles or chicken-pox. It is so in the present case. It is common to hear the present condition of English labour deplored, and common to hear the days regretted when that labour was dignified by its own *natural* rewards and incentives. But it is still more common to hear present circumstances spoken of as if they were bound to endure, and as if in fighting against them we were fighting almost against the finger of Providence itself.

One thing is certain: so long as a people preserves its racial and national vitality it will, with whatever delays and relapses, overcome in the long run whatever threatens that vitality. If a nation is destined to live, health and strength will triumph over disease. Not till its

days are numbered will the triumph be on the other side. To say that we cannot right this wrong, that we cannot restore to labour what it has lost and languishes for the loss of, is to say in effect that England must not hope to throw off her sickness. It is to be on the side of her disease, to be among the millions of parasites which in her own body war for and against its health, with those unfriendly ones which are compassing her dissolution. This is, we think, quite literally true. For, it will be observed that the evil we speak of is *not* one that perhaps appears an evil only to prejudice, but may eventually turn out not to be an evil at all. *Labour made mechanical—that is to say, labour not acted on by man's higher faculties—is degraded labour. But to degrade labour is to degrade labourer. You degrade me when you degrade the means by which I live.* Can any change be worse for a man than that the occupation which takes up all his time, which is his life's work and life's support, should from a source of pride and pleasure be turned into a source of humiliation? Yet that is the change which has come over the work of England. It is a change evil in its very nature, which no modification of circumstances or lapse of time can make other than evil, and which no palliative can mitigate. To lessen the hours of toil and increase the rate of wages are entirely ineffective remedies. They do not touch the *seat of evil*, which is not the reward given for the work nor the amount of the work but *in the very nature of the work itself*. No amount of political jugglery and make-believe ever will get rid of the fact that *to the working man it is the work itself that matters*. It is idle and stultifying to talk as if by tinkering at the surroundings of the work we were touching up the *vicious quality in the work*. Whether he knows it or not, what most affects the happiness of a working man is not the kind of house he lives in, or the kind of food he eats, or the hours he works, or the wages he gets—all these are comparative trifles and superficialities. *What really matters is whether the work he does is of a kind to better him by exercising his mental and imaginative faculties, or of a kind to depress him by exercising only his lower faculties of mechanical accuracy and dexterity.* In the character of the work lie alike the evil and its remedy. And nothing can ever change this. So long as man is man and work, work—these causes will operate and these effects ensue. *Labour is the law of life, and never till the crack of doom will a nation's life be other than unhappy, so long as its labour is of the kind which exercises the lower rather than the higher instincts in men's character.*²

2. In further elaboration of this thesis, on which the whole force of the London *Morning Post* article rests, see a very remarkable exposition of the same from the pen of the well-known art-critic, Mr. Leslie March Phillips, in the *Contemporary Review* for June, 1908, relevant extracts from which have been reproduced for the benefit of the reader in section II (B), (C) and (D) of the present article (pp. 242-246).

This is what Mr. Havell means when he says that the question of craftsmanship is so much more than an artistic question, and points out that every craftsman turned into a menial labourer is so much added to the elements of sedition and discontent. Mr. Havell is dealing with the case of Delhi, and, indeed, the case of Delhi is in some way more tragic than our own. It is more tragic because *India does possess a living school of craftsmanship, with a native tradition and the rudiments of an architectural style of its own*; not perhaps a style which altogether appeals to the European mind, but a style which sometimes florid, sometimes picturesque, is indigenous, and still, whenever it has the chance of being so, creative. So that possessing a tradition of this kind, India only needs to be left to herself to evolve a genuine Indian Capital, a *Capital built by Indian craftsmen out of a stock of still vital Indian ideas*. But this is not to be. For a considerable time the efforts of the Government have been directed to the substitution of the official Western for the native style of architecture in India. An opportunity now presents itself for completing that task. *India has not yet definitely abandoned her own tradition or openly taken the fatal step of substituting an imitative for a creative art.* It is hoped that the new Capital will be decisive in this respect. The building of it, as the reader is aware, has been entrusted to English architects, and will be carried out, it is understood, in one or other of those bastard forms of classic design into which the Renaissance is disintegrating, and which, it may be said frankly, every one but architects is sick to death of. India, of course, has to pay for this new Capital of hers, and the price will be a heavy one. It is variously stated at four or five millions to start with, and thirty or forty eventually. She is to pay for her own city, but not to build it. We shall do that for her, and we shall use the occasion to initiate Indian taste into the mysteries of Greek and Roman ideas, and eradicate once for all the ideas which are native to Indian temperament, climate and country. It is bad luck for India that the crisis should have come just at present, for had it been delayed³ she might have escaped the blow. *The imitative theory of architecture is weakening among us,*³ but it is believed it will still have strength to kill the creative instinct in India ere it dies.³ And yet no one supposes that the action of the

3. This is also the view of Mr. F. O. Oertel, F.R.I.B.A., a distinguished architect and engineer still in the service of the Government of this country, as will appear from the following extracts from a Paper read by him at a Meeting of the East-India Association, London, on July 21, 1913, and reproduced in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October, 1913: "The term *Renaissance* as applied to European architecture means the renaissance or revival of Roman and Greek art which came about with the revival of classic learning in the 14th and 15th centuries, and put an end to the further development of all national art. The classic architects made it their business to evolve from the study of classic literature and

Government (though none the less deadly in its effects on that account) has been actuated by any motives of wilful injustice to India. What made the action possible is simply the inability to perceive that the question of craftsmanship is, as Mr. Havell says, "more than an artistic question". Why should not Indian labour be set to *imitate* foreign art? Has not British labour been set the same task for generations? *To the evil effects of imitative art we have become so accustomed that they no longer strike our attention.* Yet these are what really signify. It matters very little to a nation whether its buildings be in one style or another, or ugly or beautiful, but what it does matter very much to it is whether the labour of the people be a pride and a joy to them or a curse and a degradation.⁴

II

(A)

The writer of the above article bases his whole case on the right appreciation of the principle that in the interests of the development of a living indigenous art, of vital craftsmanship, of labour's creative activity (through the exercise by the craftsman of mental and imaginative qualities)—in the interests, shortly, of a true workmanship, there is need to free labour from the conditions of degradation, the conditions, namely, by which it is made to submit to and acquiesce in the dictates of a superior will—and so prevented from exercising its own brain-power and its artistic faculties. "To the working man, it is the work itself that matters. It matters very much whether the labour of the people be a pride and a joy to them or a curse and a degradation." Upon the broad basis of this principle, the writer has discussed the claims of indigenous Indian craftsmanship to a fuller recognition of its right to be left free to develop along natural and national lines and be "creative"; so that, to quote the words of the writer, "possessing a tradition, India only needs to be left to herself to evolve a genuine Indian capital, a capital built by Indian craftsmen out of a stock of still vital ideas." In this respect the situation, as it obtains in *England*, presents a great

ancient buildings certain rules of proportion of the three orders—the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian—and thus once for all, created a fixed style which no trained architect might deviate from. In England and other parts of Northern Europe, the Renaissance was a foreign importation, dealing a death-blow to national art, and leading to the present-day system of paper designs by a scholarly class of architects out of touch with the craftsmen. For centuries Europe has been groaning under the yoke of the styles, reducing architecture from a living art to the antiquarian study. But the awakening has come, and architects are doing their best to escape from the thrall-dom of styles and to make architecture once more a true expression of modern requirements and methods of construction. With this example before us we should, I think, hesitate to do anything which might advance the progress of European Renaissance in India, knowing that by so doing we are helping on the destruction of a living and a very high form of art which gives India its special charm." (*Ibid.*, pp. 385-6).⁴

4. See Footnote 2.

and striking contrast. *There*, labour, broadly speaking, has become almost mechanical, and so has been degraded, being divorced and cut off from imaginative and creative activity ; and the writer accordingly pleads for a remedy and demands that the English people must resist the temptation of giving way to despair by indulging in the theory that in seeking for a remedy for the amelioration of the conditions of "servile" labour in England, one is "fighting almost against the finger of Providence itself." For, in the opinion of the writer, "so long as a people preserves its racial and national vitality, it will, with whatever delays and relapses, overcome in the long run whatever threatens that vitality."

The vital importance of the question of "free" labour *versus* degraded or "servile" labour, in the sense explained above—has not yet been brought home to a large majority of Englishmen whose whole outlook is bounded by ideas pertaining to extraneous conditions affecting the worker, not the vital conditions touching the very character of the work itself. In the *Contemporary Review* for June, 1912, there is a most remarkable article from the pen of a well-known art-critic, Mr. Leslie March Phillips, on the subject of the *Gothic Ideal*; in the course of which the writer brings out most lucidly and vividly the fundamental and vast difference between "free" labour and "slave" labour, as he calls them—to denote the contrast, and points out also the dangers of a great national degradation, if in England the vital need of labour to be "free" is not ultimately recognised and given effect to. For the benefit of the reader, the following somewhat lengthy extracts are reproduced from the last-mentioned article in the *Contemporary Review*, whence it would appear that the points advanced in the *Morning Post* editorial are in no way exaggerated, but that they receive a strong and powerful support and corroboration in the reasoned observations of the writer of the *Contemporary* article.

(B)

"Let us put on one side," observes this acute thinker, "all the externals of the style and concentrate our attention on its inward theory and meaning. What is the importance of that theory, what is its bearing upon life? The theory is that the craftsman, or to put it in one word, that labour, is to act as the conscious and active medium between material and the uses it is to be put to. There is the distinction between art-forms elaborated by artisans who are indifferent to and ignorant of their meaning and purpose, and who merely carry on the work in obedience to the demands of influential patrons,—and art-forms designed by craftsmen who are in touch with their material on the one hand and its destined uses on the other. (In the former case) every

slightest detail is pre-arranged by the architect in command, and all the artisan has to do is to turn himself, as near as he can, into a machine in the carrying out of his instructions. The bond between material and craftsman is broken. The former no longer finds in the latter its own means of animated expression. We may figure all creative work quite simply to ourselves in this way : At one end, the root end, we have the raw material—stone, wood, iron, cloth, skin, ivory or whatever it may be ; at the other end, we have the destined use of the material—a church, a chair, a kettle, a 'doublet, a book-cover, a crucifix, and other objects designed to meet the requirements of mankind. Between the two comes the artisan or craftsman, whose important function is to adapt the raw material to the intended purpose. Strictly speaking, the trio—the material, the use it is to be put to, and the hands which are to adapt it to that use—is complete in itself. It is a going concern, but it is not often left to go by itself. Outside influences intervene which hamper its smooth working and distract its operations. The malign influence of the new arrival consists in its being unrelated to the material. The craftsman stands between the material and the completed work, so that he is able to help the material to its destined end. The Gothic ideal consisted in the theory of free labour, the chief condition of which was that the control and direction of every craft should be in the hands of its own craftsman, and that not only as regards the supervision of its members, but as regards also the quality of the work accomplished and the standard of excellence to be maintained. This provision that out of the first primitive factors of the raw material shall arise the right to guide and judge that kind of work in all that it accomplishes, may be called the inward spirit of Gothic. This animates all Gothic achievements, however diverse in appearance." [Vide in order pp. 814, 813, 814, 810 of the *Contemporary Review* for June, 1912.]

(C)

" What then is the difference between a labour which commands and controls its material and a labour which, aspiring to no initiative of its own, submits passively to the control of a superior will ? The difference simply is that the former is " free " labour and the latter " slave " labour. That, put bluntly and crudely, is the distinction. The labour that controls is " free ", the labour that is controlled is bond. There are infinite blendings of the two systems ; nor perhaps is there any work of which can it be said that it is the creation entirely of one or entirely of the other. But we are here considering the two as principles, and considered as such they are wholly distinct and opposed to each other. We have been talking of " free " labour and " slave " labour,—not of free men]

and slaves,—as if labour were in itself of a free or slavish character. When we speak *to-day* of free labour, we think not of the labour itself, but of the conditions under which it is done. We think of whether or not the worker undertakes it by free contract, what hours he is occupied upon it, and what pay he receives for doing it; and if all these questions are answered to our liking, we consider the work itself to have been estimated and approved. Yet these are considerations which do not in any way affect *the nature of the work itself*. Whether I enter on the work willingly, how long I continue at the work, how much money I get for the work, are not properties by which the work, as work, can be described. All these are human considerations, emanating not from the work, but from the workman. They have their own very great importance. They indicate the personal conditions under which free men should live and labour. Yet do not let them obscure for us the *work's share* of the contract. *Do not let us forget that a man may be to all outward appearance free, and yet that the work he is doing may be slave-work.* We have but to look around to see that such is the case. Consider the lot of the British workman *to-day*. He is enfranchised, he is represented in Parliament, and under the laws of his country he is united with his fellows in powerful and wealthy trades unions capable of doing battle on equal terms with any combinations of employers and capitalists. His hours, his wages, and all his privileges as a workman are jealously safeguarded. He is the essence of independence, bowing the knee to no one, owning no superior—fully, in the *political* sense of the word, free." [Vide pp. 814-815 of the *Contemporary Review*, June, 1912]

"Has the reader ever watched the bands of these *politically* free workmen issuing at knocking-off time from the gates of some factory? It scarcely appears from their mien and gait and the expression of their faces that their freedom is an unmitigated success. You expect, from the presence and influence of freedom, a crowd of men of strong vitality, walking confidently, with heads up, frank eyes, and ready laugh. You see a straggling and depressed crew slouching along with hands in pockets and humped shoulders, talking little, and that little in the jibing tone of discontented men, looking mostly on the ground and rarely laughing. Go in, some time, and see them at their work, the automatic work of the machine "hand", who, or rather which, has become so much a part of his machine as hardly to be distinguishable from it. He goes about his job with a sort of callous indifference. It has no claims upon him, no merits in his eyes. He is subdued to it, has become used to it, and so plods on at it. But in his soul he hates it! Necessity is his whole incentive. For a certain sum of money he will doom himself to the daily treadmill; but as for interest in his work, as

for love of his work, why should he feel any such emotions ? What faculties in himself does the work engage which can make any such response ? He is right to hate it. It leaves the effects we just now noted in the crowd coming from work. The slouching gait, the air of lassitude and indifference are put there by the day's work. The curse upon these peoples' lives is that *they are free men doing slave's labour.* That is the point to realise. They are fond of tinkering at their own end of the problem, shortening hours or increasing wages, or what not, thinking that the ills they feel must lie in this quarter, and no doubt the impulse is a natural one. You cannot have too little of a bad thing. If the work is accursed, shall they not at least diminish it to the least possible compass, and exact for the detested thing the last farthing of remuneration ? And yet must not workmen work, and do what they will ; must not their lives be coloured by the quality of their work ? Their remedies are vain because they are not directed to the real seat of the malady. *The root of the mischief is not in the hours or the pay, but in the work itself.* I have sometimes wondered whether it would be for a man's greater happiness that he should be free in himself, but engaged on slave labour ; or himself a bondsman driven daily to his work and kept at it at his master's pleasure, *yet finding in the actual work a freeman's occupation and resource.*" [*Vide pp. 815-816 of the Contemporary Review for June, 1912*]

(D)

" However that may be, it is, I think, certain that no man, whose thoughts and ideas tend constantly to liberty, and who in politics and the conduct of life has enforced liberty, can engage habitually in a kind of work which is the negation of all freedom of thought and all freedom of self-expression, without being more or less miserable in consequence. The conflict and discrepancy between what he is and what he does, between the thoughts and aspirations which are vaguely but perpetually inclining him to a fuller realisation of liberty, and his daily toil which is as perpetually dragging him down to slavery and indifference, must and do cripple his existence. England to-day is miserable, and of all the causes which might be alleged as contributing to her unhappiness, there is probably none more deep-seated or that has eaten further into life than the sense of effort and puzzled failure which haunts men whose free aspirations are daily thwarted by the very nature of their own daily toil. Of all races of which record remains, our own race, the Gothic race, is that which can least well support the conditions of labour it has now to endure, for in its case the discrepancy between life and labour is greatest. In proportion as the instinct for freedom is vital, the misery of the bondage

to labour increases. For this race of ours, pledged to liberty as it is, there is no choice of alternative but to adjust the terms of labour to that ideal. Work we must do; free we must be. Unless the two can be reconciled, one will destroy the other. I hope the reader will not take this as an abstract theory. It is a matter of stern reality. Liberty and labour here in England are at this very moment locked together in a death struggle which only the final victory of one or other will conclude. A generation or two will probably see the issue decided. Either the spirit of liberty will prevail, and we shall see a revival of democratic art—or the routine of labour will prevail, in which case the objects now worked for—high wages, short hours, and material ease—will eclipse all other ideals, *and the national character will enter its decadence.* The danger is in sight. One has but to examine a few election addresses and hustings speeches to observe the assiduity with which the average politician already appeals to the shallow and selfish instincts of mere greed and cupidity. That “the lower classes care for nothing that does not touch their pockets” is with many a self-evident proposition. It is a false saying, and a sure sign of shallowness in the sayer: but it has this surface justification that the average workman himself, working for mean ends only, has, at least superficially and as far as his own consciousness of his motive goes, come to think of them as the only things worth attaining. Nevertheless, under this sordid crust there still lurks—I speak out of some experience of political audiences—a profound inarticulate sympathy with the old national ideals of liberty and independence. But already you have to probe for it, and if present labour conditions prevail for another couple of generations, it may be you will probe in vain. The struggle is a deadly reality. I cannot here indicate its many aspects. Though the conditions of servile labour seem established, yet they are probably less secure than they were. Throughout the country, but particularly in the North, a contrary movement, operating through a thousand channels and known vaguely as the revival of craftsmanship, is steadily progressing in towns, in much the same tentative, uncertain fashion as the corresponding land movement in country districts. In men working as free craftsmen in town and men working their own holdings in the land, the object is the same: it is to recover what has been lost in freedom of occupation, to span the fatal gap that has intervened between what we are and what we do, and to reconcile, if we may, the daily toil which is the main part of our lives with that innate instinct for liberty which lies deepest in the national character. We must all under some of its aspects be familiar with the struggle which is going on around us. My object in these pages is to show by a few indications how deep that struggle goes into our history. Liberty is never established. We are not, and we never have been, a free people. But we have constantly struggled, and we are still struggling, to be free. What history in regard to that struggle has to teach us is the realisation of the intimate affinity which has always existed and must, as regards our race, always exist between the idea of liberty and conditions of free labour.” [Vide pp. 816-817, 818-819 of the *Contemporary Review*, June, 1912.]

PART III

SECTION I : INDIAN EDUCATIONAL AND ALLIED MOVEMENTS

"Indian Architecture and its Suitability for Modern Requirements" :

A Remarkable Pronouncement by an Eminent Architect and Engineer
of the Public Works Department

I

Such is the title of a very remarkable Paper (with lantern slide illustrations) read at a Meeting of the East India Association held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, London, on July 21, 1913 by F. O. Oertel, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., Superintending Engineer, Allahabad, under the distinguished chairmanship of Colonel Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Bart., C.I.E. We have called the Paper remarkable, because Mr. Oertel is a distinguished officer of the Public Works Department, a Department not hitherto regarded as specially sympathetic towards the claims of indigenous art and architecture. The views enunciated by Mr. Oertel are a striking confirmation of those held by us and expounded in great detail in some seven articles of considerable length in previous issues of this Journal.² Mr. Oertel's views are specially entitled to weight since he has been now engaged (as the reader will find from his Paper) for thirty years in the erection of buildings in India,³ and his views have been formed as the

2. 1. Reproduced in full in the Asiatic Quarterly Review for October 1913, pp. 376—394.

2. *Vide* the following articles—"Indian Craftsmen and the New Delhi: Plea for an Indian Style of Architecture—I" (May, 1912); "Indian Craftsmen and the New Delhi: Plea for an Indian Style of Architecture—II" (June, 1912); "New Delhi Architecture and the Government Proposals" (August, 1912); "The Building of the New Capital: The Vital Issue before the Government" (December, 1912); "Delhi, the Metropolis of India"—Editorial Comment (February, 1913); "The Government of India and the Architecture of the New Delhi" (March, 1913); "The Building of the New Capital: Claims of a European Treatment of Indian Architecture under British Auspices" (March, 1913): Besides these seven articles, the reader's attention is invited to the views of the London *Morning Post* on the same subject as given in the article entitled "The London Morning Post on the New Delhi Problem: Claims of an Indian Treatment of Indian Architecture under British Auspices" (March, 1913 *Dawn*); and also to sections, ii, iii, iv and v of our article entitled "The Personality of Our King-Emperor" in the January, 1912 issue of the Magazine.

3. *Vide* Mr. Oertel's Paper in the Asiatic Quarterly Review for October, 1913; page 380 (top). We think it necessary here to explain that in the present article our desire has been to place before the reader Mr. Oertel's views under different heads or sections, for which purpose we have thought fit to bring together different passages from different parts of the Paper, where they are found to bear upon

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result of considerable engineering and architectural training and experience. Mr. Oertel in his Paper thus gives a preliminary account of himself,— “Finding that building construction constituted a great part of my duties in the “Building and Roads” Branch of the Public Works Department, to which I belong, I took an early opportunity of supplementing my engineering training by that of an architect. For this purpose I went through the usual course of architectural instruction in England, and after extended tours in England, France, Belgium, Germany, and Italy, passed—twenty-five years ago—the qualifying examination for membership of the Royal Institute of British Architects. On returning to India after my architectural training, my first efforts in design were directed towards introducing some improvement in the European styles in vogue. From my own experience I know how difficult it is for a man trained in Western styles to break with his early notions. It takes several years’ residence and work in India before a man can throw off the thralldom of European ideas on the subject, engrafted in him by his early training ;⁴ but I have now completely come round to the view that salvation for India lies in the adoption of some form of Oriental architecture which has grown up in the country, and is most suited to its climatic and other conditions. In the course of my residence in the East I have toured all over India, Burma and Ceylon, occupied in visiting all the most notable buildings in those countries ; and have watched with interest for more than a quarter of a century the development of our own efforts at building in India, and the question of the most suitable style for this purpose has been ever with me. The conclusion I have come to is that Indian architecture is undoubtedly the most suited to the needs of India, and it is my firm conviction that Indian architecture is bound to prevail in the end over all imported styles,

the same matter in hand. In this way the extracts under different heads as they are presented in the present article are in most cases aggregates drawn from different parts of the same Paper read by Mr. Oertel. We have not taken the trouble of giving our references to the pages of the A. Q. Review in every case, as being cumbersome and unnecessary for our purpose.

4. Mr. R. F. Chisholm, F.R.I.B.A., a former Consulting Architect to the Government of Madras, who has a very large Indian experience, referred to this aspect of the matter in his remarks made at the Discussion that followed the reading of Mr. Oertel’s Paper : “One important fact stood out in the Paper and that was that although most English architects commenced in the Renaissance style of art when they went to India, they all ended in an Indian style. The first important building he himself constructed was in the Renaissance style ; but long before it was finished, he was busy revising the plans of another Renaissance building to a modified Indian form of art, more suited to the materials, and to the labour of the particular district, and to the money he had at his command. As all Indian architects had commenced in the Renaissance style and ended in the Indian style, it was a reasonable conjecture to imagine that the eminent architects who had gone out to India would, if they stayed in the country, end in being more Indian than any of their predecessors. (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1913 ; p. 397).

whether we like it or not, and whether we help on the process or not.⁵ In fact, no one who really comes in contact with Indian art and architecture in their natural surroundings, and devotes some attention to them, can escape the fascination exercised by them. Most English architects working in India sooner or later arrive at the same point of view, and either adopt indigenous architecture, or so modify the Western styles as to give them a strong Oriental flavour. The same conversion may be noticed in the case of European art experts who come out to India to teach their art, and end by learning from the Indian craftsmen. Amongst the leading converts in this respect I need only mention such names as Sir Swinton Jacob," (F.R.I.B.A., one of the three architects whose services have been requisitioned by the Government of India in connection with the building of the New Delhi) ; "Mr. Robert Chisholm", (F.R.I.B.A., a former Consulting Architect of the Government of India and an officer of very long Indian experience) ; "Mr. Lockwood Kipling" (formerly Principal of the Mayo School of Art, Lahore) ; and Mr. Havell. To judge from their more recent designs, Mr. Ransome" (F.R.I.B.A., the first Consulting Architect to the Government of India) "and his successor, Mr. Begg" (F.R.I.B.A., the present Consulting Architect to the Government of India) "may also be included in the list as showing distinct leanings in the same direction." And so Mr. Oertel feelingly appeals to the other two architects for Imperial Delhi, Mr. Edwin Lutyens, F.R.I.B.A., and Mr. Herbert Baker, F.R.I.B.A., whose training has been wholly Western, to study Indian architecture on the spot—before committing themselves to any Western style. Says Mr. Oertel :—"Which of the European styles now practised is to be adopted for Delhi is still a secret. The selection lies with the eminent architects who have been appointed to design the buildings for the new Imperial City. I devoutly hope that Mr. Lutyens and Mr. Baker will recognise the great opportunity for good or evil entrusted to them, and will not for the sake of hastening the task, neglect to *study Indian architecture on the spot*. I know that it is calling for a great deal of self-denial on their part to expect them to forego even for a time a lucrative practice in order to do this, but I think the occasion

* 5. Mr. John Begg, F.R.I.B.A., seems to hold a similar view. In his "NOTES" to the "Report on Modern Indian Architecture," published by the Government of India (1913), he writes as follows :—Our forefathers of a hundred years ago sounded a certain note in the design of the earlier buildings of Calcutta, but that note has, I think it must be admitted, dwindled too often to a sorry squak in later examples in the same city. Is it not arguable that this decadence was due to the keynote being out of tune with any indigenous tradition? It was something of the nature of a revival, exotic, fortuitous, we introduced into India, and this, like others, has succumbed to the danger of revivals....It would be a fitting thing if the architectural note we sound in our new Capital were to type the re-awakened India of the present and future.....Why sound again a note that is sure to dwindle into decadence as it has done before, rather than one more likely to be worthily sustained by the future generations of indigenous architects for whose advent we might well make it our duty to prepare?"⁶

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is one where such a sacrifice may be expected of them. The names of the builders of the new Delhi will go down to history, and the task entrusted to them is so great and glorious that all other considerations must be thrown aside for it. I know that the building of the new Capital cannot be indefinitely delayed, but one or two winters *devoted to the study of Indian architecture* would not be waste of time, as during the interval the work of preparing the sites and laying out the city might be progressing."

Similarly, Mr. Oertel holds that the need for a study of Indian indigenous architecture by English architects recently employed by the Government of this country is most insistent. And he accordingly pleads that "opportunities should be given to the English architects lately employed in India to study Indian architecture."⁶ Thus Mr Oertel observes : "Since Lord Curzon took up the question of improving the standard of public buildings in India, English architects have been appointed to most of the provinces, with whom now rests the design of all Government buildings. It is to them therefore that I must look for the proper lead, and I have no doubt that they can be relied upon to recognise their opportunities and duties in this respect. But one must not expect the impossible of them. As I have shown, trained architects are almost sure to turn sooner or later to Indian art of their own accord : but it takes time and opportunity to master its details and imbibe its spirit, and this time and opportunity should be freely given to them at the beginning of their careers in India. I would strongly urge the Government of India to endow a couple of scholarships every year to enable young English architects to go through a course of study of indigenous architecture in India for at least two years, with some assurance of employment at the end of that period, either as architects, or as professors at the architectural schools which I hope to see established all over India. During their period of study the young architects might be employed touring and measuring up old buildings for half the year during the cold season ; and for the other half during the summer, they might be

6. The full meaning of this would be clear when we come to read the following statement by Mr. John Begg, F.R.I.B.A., the present Consulting Architect to the Government of India, who has shown himself to be a thorough champion of the claims of the indigenous architecture of India since he had opportunity of studying Indian architectural monuments. In a Paper entitled "The Architect in India", read before the East India Association, London, on May 16, 1911 and reproduced in the Asiatic Quarterly Review for July, 1911 he remarked :—"I have no right to dwell on the architectural glories of India of the past for the reason that archaeology having (for certain sufficient administrative reasons) been divorced from her consort architecture, I have had no more than ordinary opportunities for studying it. In fact, I have had less than ordinary, for (so close has my nose been kept to the particular grindstone allotted to me) during my ten years of service in India, I have never been able to spare time for travelling beyond the range of my actual duties." Mr. Begg's "NOTES" to the recently published Report on Modern Indian Architecture shows him to be a thorough convert to the Indian point of view—the point of view advocated by Mr. Oertel in his Paper.

attached to the offices of Consulting Architects, and made to help in the designing of Indian buildings. If Indian Art as a whole is to be resuscitated, the first necessity is the establishment of good schools of architecture, not less than one in each province, where *indigenous architecture*, sound planning and scientific methods of construction can be taught to students by trained architects conversant with the styles of the particular locality."

Mr. Oertel, however, clearly recognises that all his above suggestions about architectural schools and a two years' course of study of indigenous architecture on the spot by English architects intending to enter Indian Service—would come to nought unless there was some "knowledge and sympathy for Indian Art on the part of the English officials serving in India"; and so he does not scruple to suggest a course of rudimentary education in indigenous art and architecture for them. Mr. Oertel explains himself as follows : He is of opinion that "the decline of Indian Art set in with the downfall of the Mughals from Aurangzeb onwards," still much "confusion has been created by the introduction of Western styles and art canons. What we want in India is not a Greek and Roman Renaissance of Indian art and architecture, but a Renaissance of Indian art and architecture. The want of this is deeply felt in India. It has become our clear duty to help and foster the movement into the right channel. Although indigenous architecture is still a living force in India, some outside encouragement and guidance is needed to enable it to rise again to the height which it once occupied. I consider that it needs the fostering care of our Rulers to guide it, *not by forcing Western forms upon it, but by aiding its natural development.* To further this object it is, I think, desirable to create some knowledge and sympathy for Indian art on the part of the English officials serving in India. The course of education for them might be made to include some knowledge of the rudiments of Indian art and architecture, if not for all European officials, at least for the engineers who have to erect any buildings. If it is necessary for European officers to learn the language of the people they are to reside amongst, it is also necessary to learn something of their art, for that is an outward mode of expression that appeals most directly to the heart."

II

In this matter of the need for having schools of architecture for the study of the indigenous system in India, Mr. Oertel would also invite students to study the *Silpa Sastras* which are Indian treatises originally in Sanskrit on *Silpa* or Art. He does not, however, dwell on this aspect of the study of Indian architecture in his Paper read before the East India Association, but he brought the matter to the notice of the Congress of Western Orientalists held at Copenhagen in August, 1908 in a Paper read before them, which was published in *The Indian Antiquary* for October, 1908. Mr. Oertel there said :—"I would like to take the opportunity to draw the attention of the Congress to the difficulty experienced in the study of Indian art and architecture owing to the want of accurate translations of the *Silpas Sastras* dealing with these subjects. Dr. Coomaraswamy in his

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forthcoming book on Indian Art is, I understand, giving a translation of a Ms. from Ceylon dealing with the making of images. This will be interesting in its way, but what we more particularly want is full translations of the Sanskrit works on the subject of architecture with the rules for the construction of stupas, temples, monasteries, and other edifices, rules partially followed by the present-day native builders. That such works exist not only in India, but also in Ceylon and other countries in the East, is well-known, but so far Sanskrit scholars have not cared to take up the subject, probably on account of the difficulty of translating the technical terms. If the Congress agree with me and will give their support to the proposal, something may perhaps be done to supply this defect. Mr. Thibaut has already announced that the Calcutta University are going to arrange for the translation of Sanskrit astronomical works. This encourages me to suggest that some other University or public body should take up the subject of Indian architectural works, and if possible depute some young Sanskritist to study the subject in India itself." 7

III

The full significance and value of the suggestions made by Mr. Oertel (pp. 49-50 *ante*), regarding a wider study of the indigenous art and architecture of India, specially by the engineers of the Public Works Department and the English architects trained in Western formularies of architectural styles, would be further apparent from a consideration of the facts connected with the history of that Department. "When the English first settled in India," says Mr. Oertel, "they brought with them the Renaissance style then in vogue in England, a form of which had become firmly established long before the

7. In publishing Mr. Oertel's Paper read before the (1908) Congress of Orientalists at Copenhagen in *The Indian Antiquary*, the Editor adds a prefatory note in which he states that "the Congress formally adopted Mr. Oertel's suggestion that arrangements should be made to collect and translate all the *Silpa Sastras* dealing with architecture and sculpture that can be traced." That a proper study of the *Silpa Sastras* has not merely an academic interest, but has an important practical bearing on the teaching of art in modern art schools in India will appear from some observations made by Mr. Hadaway, the present Superintendent of the Government School of Art, Madras, in his Report on the working of the school, for the year 1908-09. In that Report Mr. Hadaway "recommends that the Madras Art School should, when it becomes possible, establish classes for the study of indigenous architecture according to the principles and rules laid down in the *Silpa Sastras*. Mr. Hadaway had received friendly help towards the translation of the *Silpa Sastras* given him by the Superintendent of the School of Art, Trivandrum, and is of opinion that a great and a real good would be done towards the understanding and proper use of architectural forms, and also of building, if some Commission of experts could be got together to go into the matter thoroughly. He further emphasises the importance of a thorough study of these old works by observing that though hereditary artisans are said to know these works and though, no doubt, they do to a slight extent, yet as their knowledge has been handed down from father to son, it has become very much corrupted."—Vide *Hindu* of Madras (weekly edn.), Sept., 8, 1909.

Public Works Department came into existence. European Renaissance already reigns supreme in most of our Indian port towns, such as Calcutta and Rangoon ; while Bombay has adopted the Gothic style which was in fashion in England at the time when the more important Bombay buildings came to be erected. It is true unfortunately that it is this Renaissance style alone that all our draughtsmen are conversant with, and as the engineers are not themselves usually trained architects, and have but little leisure to devote to the subject, they cannot be blamed for continuing a style in which it is easiest to work, and which met with the approval of the authorities as being the most economical and suitable for the purpose. The system of having standard plans⁸ for various kinds of public buildings which are not allowed to be departed from, helped to stereotype the style, and produce a monotony which is justly condemned." In this way Mr. Oertel makes it clear that "in the selection of styles we are not free agents. The Services we work for have the chief say in the matter, they pay the piper and have a right to call the tune. Then, where work has to be done economically and quickly, it is difficult to break with established forms to which all the staff is trained." These facts connected with the Public Works Department's architectural practices have given rise to the impression that that Department in India are "the great opponents of indigenous art and architecture." And Mr. Oertel "raises his voice in protest against those accusations⁹ and in favour of indigenous Indian architec-

8. The following observations made by the President of the Meeting, Colonel Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Bart., C.I.E., during the Discussion that followed the reading of Mr. Oertel's Paper, bear on the same point. I would like to notice one great danger, from the architectural point of view, which has only been hinted at in the Paper we have just heard—*the standardising of plans and elevations*. This is disastrous to any style, Renaissance or Indian, and it seems to me that it would be almost as bad in the end if the Public Works Department were to have for the whole country a standard set of Indian designs as of European."

9. On the occasion of the opening of the Allahabad University and Senate Hall (3rd August, 1912), Sir J. P. Hewett, G.C.S.I., late Lieutenant-Governor of the U. P. of Agra and Oudh, made the following remarks on the architectural side of the work of the P. W. Department, which may be read in this connection : "Mr. Vice-Chancellor, I must not conclude without endorsing your commendation of the magnificent work which has been done by those to whom the design and construction of the Senate House were entrusted. Mr. Oertel, the Superintending Engineer, has taken a great interest in the work throughout and has devoted much time and attention to its supervision. The architectural features of the building owe their inspiration to the genius of the architect, Sir Swinton Jacob, who has done so much towards adorning the province with beautiful buildings. We hear a good deal sometimes from critics who delight to condemn without discrimination the architectural features of buildings designed or erected by the Public Works Department. This is a matter in which I have from long taken a great interest. And I at once admit that many of the buildings erected at different times under the direction of the Public Works Department have been singularly hideous. I doubt whether in all the world you could find anything that would jar more on the feelings of any one with the slightest taste for

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ture." "It is hardly fair," remarks Mr. Oertel, "to hold the Public Works Department responsible for the Renaissance style and to sneeringly dub it the 'Public Works Style'. I can assure you that there is no feeling whatever against Indian architecture in the Service I have the honour to belong to." Mr. Oertel, however, has the candour to admit that while the Public Works Service being the victim of circumstances is not much at fault, there is room for animadversion on the ground that the importation of a Renaissance style is partly also due to the eagerness of Europeans to spread the blessings of Western civilisation. "Almost every European going to the East considers himself a missionary in a sacred cause, called upon to spread the blessings of Western civilisation, and the greater the ignorance of what he is striving to upset, the greater his iconoclastic zeal. These endeavours to set aside Indian architecture and replace it by European Renaissance form part of the constant efforts of Western civilisation to annihilate all other modes of thought, action, and even of dress in the whole world. With the best of intentions we have made mistakes in the past, and in our eagerness to bestow on India the benefits of Western civilisation have led it into paths in which it is not prepared to follow us. The world at large, and specially England, would be the losers if the attempt of some were to succeed who would set aside Indian architecture and replace it by European Renaissance. The prospect of its ultimate success fills me with alarm, and I trust that future generations will be spared the distress of having to point to the building of New Delhi as an important step on its triumphal march. In England and other parts of Northern Europe the Renaissance was a foreign importation, dealing a death-blow to national art, and leading to the present-day system of paper design by a scholarly class of architects out of touch with the craftsmen. But the awakening has come. With this example before us we should, I think, hesitate to do anything which might advance the progress of

architecture than the public buildings in Allahabad at present occupied by the High Court, the Secretariat, the Board of Revenue, and the Accountant General. And further I will admit that these do not stand alone, and that there are a number of others at which the finger of scorn could be pointed with almost equal justice. But all the same, it is a cruel libel to regard the Public Works Department as past redemption in this matter; and that it is not so, is proved by the architectural beauties of many of the buildings, small as well as great, recently erected in these provinces." (*Vide the Advocate* of Lucknow for August 8, 1913). In connection with the criticism that is generally levelled at the P. W. Department, the following observations of Mr. E. B. Havell contained in a letter to the Hon. Secretary of the East India Association on the subject of Mr. Oertel's Paper may be here reproduced:—"So far as I know no attack has been made on the personnel of the Public Works Department. Many, indeed most of them, may be said to have performed the duties allotted to them with conspicuous ability. *Individually*, the P. W. Department needs no defence. What is indefensible is the *system* by which the best native architects have been excluded from participating in all important official architectural works in India."

European Renaissance in India, knowing that by so doing we are helping on the sure destruction of a living and very high form of art which gives India its special charm. What we want for India is not a Greek and Roman Renaissance, but a Renaissance of Indian art and architecture."

IV

Besides the point noticed above that the importation of a Renaissance style into India is partly attributable to the iconoclastic zeal of almost every European going to the East as missionary in the sacred cause of spreading the blessings of Western civilisation,—Mr. Oertel notices and disposes of another argument—the conqueror's argument in favour of imposing upon India the conqueror's style of architecture. In the March, 1913, issue of this Magazine, we devoted a whole article entitled "Claims of a European Treatment of Indian Architecture under British Auspices" to bring out the European point of view, following the lines of argument developed in a Paper¹⁰ which was read on the 28th February, 1873 by a distinguished architect, the late Mr. T. Roger Smith, F.R.I.B.A., before the Society of Arts, London, where the problem was presented by him in this form—"What is the Architectural Art which has marked or is about to mark the period of British Occupation of the Indian Peninsula?" There are clear indications in Mr. Oertel's Paper that he had in mind Mr. Roger Smith's arguments based upon the Roman parallel—which may be summarily styled as the 'Conqueror's Argument'—and having those arguments in mind, he has referred to them and refuted them. The late Mr. Roger Smith's standpoint has been uncompromisingly upheld by Mr. H. H. Statham, F.R.I.B.A., in the "Builder" (London), of which he was till lately the Editor; and his most recent article on the "Architecture of the New Delhi" in the February, 1913 issue of the *Fortnightly Review* pursues the same uncompromising attitude. And Mr. Statham who was present at the East India Association Meeting, in the course of the Discussion that followed the reading of Mr. Oertel's Paper took up the same attitude and formulated (in almost identical words) the views expressed by him in the *Fortnightly Review*. The late Mr. Roger Smith's and Mr. Statham's ideas—which are unfortunately the ideas of the vast majority of non-official Europeans in India—may be given in Mr. Statham's own words:—"Mr. Statham's feeling all along had been that if they were going to build a town in India they should do as the Romans did; wherever the Roman Eagles went, the Roman triumphal arch and theatre went too. So he would say: Build in Delhi as they would do in London, only with due regard to changed conditions and materials. He sincerely hoped to see an Indian form of Renaissance architecture taking shape in the near future in India." (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1913; p. 401) In his *Fortnightly* article we read:—"A conquering nation erecting buildings for its own use on a foreign

^{10.} Entitled *Architectural Art in India*: Reproduced in full in the *Journal of the Society of Arts*, London, for March 7, 1873.

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soil, brings its own architecture with it, builds as it has been accustomed to build at home. *Racial and architectural instincts go together.* We are very much in the position of the Romans in the countries which they conquered and annexed." In the "Builder" for September 27, 1912, again, we note the following further declaration of opinion—"Indian Rajas vie with one another in building houses based on English models. *If we are to retain sovereignty in India this attitude is one to be encouraged.*"

Mr. Oertel's point of view is diametrically opposed to the point of view just enunciated. We would begin by reproducing the reply he gave to Mr. Statham at the East India Association during the Discussion that followed the reading of his Paper. Mr. Oertel observed: "As was to be expected from speakers familiar with India, most of the speakers are in thorough sympathy with my advocacy of Indian architecture. The only dissentient voice is that of the last speaker, Mr. H. Statham, who thinks that we should follow the example of the Romans by building in Delhi as we would in London, so that our buildings might proclaim our position as the conquering race in India. But he will pardon my pointing out that this is the very position which the English Government has repeatedly disavowed. We are no longer in India merely as conquerors maintaining our position by force,"¹¹ but as peaceful administrators, basing our rule on the consent and support of the people. The selection of a style for Delhi is therefore a question, not of what is most to our taste and liking, but of what suits India best and is most in harmony with the feelings of the Indians, *especially since the mass of the people using the new public buildings will be Indian, and not European.*" (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1913, p. 401). Mr. Oertel's point of view is explained at fuller length in the Paper read at the East India Association Meeting:—"Those who advocate a Colonial Renaissance style for our own buildings at the Imperial Capital forget, I think, the true significance of the move to Delhi, *and our position in the country.* We are not in India as Colonists intent on making a home there as nearly like the one we have left behind. There may be some excuse for the early merchants who founded Calcutta to have erected the

11. There is a striking passage in the "Financial Statement" submitted on March 1, 1913 to the Imperial Legislative Council by the late Finance Member of the Government of India, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, which harmonises with Mr. Oertel's statement that in removing their capital to Delhi, the Government have repudiated the ideal of a conquering race in their future relations with the people. The late Finance Minister said:—"A Financial Statement, the forerunner of the Budget, has been presented for the first time in Delhi, restored to her pride of place as India's Imperial City. Through centuries, kings of every race have fought to win or keep her; the blood of men and the tears of women have been freely shed to cement the empires over which her owners have held sway. *But I prefer to think of Delhi, not as the prize of conquest, or the home of conquerors,* but as the capital of a contented empire, the abode of peace and prosperity, of wise and prudent counsels. Such I hope she may ever be." (*Ibid.*, para. 61.)

buildings there in a style familiar to them, but since Queen Victoria's Proclamation¹² of November, 1858, we have avowedly broken away from the selfish traditions of the East India Company. We now profess to exercise Imperial sway over all India, with the consent of the people and for their benefit. It was, I take it, for the express purpose of showing to all the world that we had broken once and for all with the narrow policy of the East India trading company, and to avoid all appearance of the Indian Government being unduly influenced by the powerful commercial interests of a large port town,¹³ that His Majesty, the King-Emperor, in public Darbar, proclaimed his intention of removing his Capital from Calcutta to the seat of the old Mogul Empire at Delhi. By so doing he signified that India was to be ruled for India's benefit alone, and according to Indian sentiment, thereby consolidating the union between India and England for their mutual advantage. The British are too apt to disregard sentiment and appearances and to forget that the Indian peasant will largely judge the character of our rule by the public buildings in which our administration is carried on. If these are foreign to his understanding, the British Raj will remain foreign to him, however just, equitable and beneficial it may be."

V

This last-mentioned point which Mr. Oertel raises, that the British Raj must not "remain foreign" to the people, he pursues by citing the example of Akbar's architectural policy. "However just, equitable, and beneficial the British Raj may be," still it would be "by public buildings that its character will be largely judged by the masses." Therefore, argues Mr. Oertel—"now that we are establishing our new Capital at the seat of the old Mogul Empire, let us endeavour to follow in the footsteps of Akbar rather than of Aurangzeb. One of the pictures in the *Ain-i-Akbari* represents Akbar going round with his

12. Colonel Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Bart., C.I.E., who occupied the Chair at the East India Association Meeting, thus referred to this portion of Mr. Oertel's Paper while initiating the Discussion:—"In many ways the Company's servants knew the native mind better, and there is this much to be said of the Palladian architecture they introduced—it emphasised the sovereignty of the Englishman,—it symbolised his power. Of course since 1857, it has been our policy to make the native understand that the country is being ruled by us as much for his benefit as for ours, and in this view it would be well for the Government of India to symbolise this view by its architecture, as its predecessors symbolised the exhibition of superior power by theirs. One cannot help hoping, therefore, that the builders of the New Delhi will take the Paper we have just read into consideration." This Imperial aspect of the matter was brought out by us in some of our previous articles on the subject (vide footnote 1 *ante*), and especially in the article entitled "*New Delhi Architecture and the Government Proposals*," in the August, 1912 issue.

13. The reader will note that this is the identical view which we put forward at length in Sections II, III, and IV of an article entitled "The Personality of our King-Emperor," in the January, 1912 issue of this Magazine.

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Hindu architects, who is carrying the plan of a building in his hand.¹⁴ It is well known what a favourable opinion Akbar had of Hindu craftsmen of whom a large number were always employed in the precincts of the Palace, and whose works were exhibited to him daily. Akbar largely employed Hindu builders and craftsmen, and gave them *a very free hand*. The result was the growth of a truly Indian style, bringing into happy union both Hindu and Mahomedan forms. Akbar was the founder of a really national Indian style combining the best features of both Hindu and Mahomedan architecture, a style which I should like to see developed in these days. This style is seen to the best advantage at Akbar's capital, Fatehpur Sikri, where Hindu columns and bracket capitals are found in excellent company with Mahomedan arches and domes. Here may be seen examples of all kinds of public and domestic buildings in a marvellous state of preservation, including mosques and tombs, public offices and audience hall, a mint, bazaar and caravanserai, as well as royal residences, and palaces of nobles and ladies of the Court. The whole forms a collection of buildings unrivalled in the world. I know all the buildings intimately, as I had charge of Fatehpur Sikri and Agra for several years, at a time when extensive restorations were being carried out under the orders of Lord Curzon. I look back upon that time as perhaps the most interesting of my service. Much as I admired the Taj and the marble palaces of Shah Jehan, it was the red sand-stone buildings of Akbar which had the greatest human interest for me, and which gave a deep and abiding veneration and love for this great man's work and character. If students want to know where to go and what particular style to study, I would advise them to go to Agra and Fatehpur Sikri, and there study the buildings of the great Emperor Akbar. Much has already been done by the Indian Government, as well as by individuals in making known the beauties of Indian architecture, and it is easy for anyone, even without going to India, to gain some insight into its indigenous architecture by the perusal of some of the volumes of the "Archæological Survey" (especially Mr. E. W. Smith's books on Agra and Fatehpur Sikri); and "the Jaipur Portfolio" of architectural details. This last publication brought out by the Jaipur State, is due to Sir Swinton Jacob's initiation, and shows what a wealth of detail is available in

14. Read in this connection the following extracts from an article entitled "The Indian Problem in Relation to Indian Art and Architecture" from the pen of Major J. B. Keith (formerly of the Indian Archæological Survey), which appeared in the April-May, 1913 issue of this Journal—"I profess no architectural or technical training, but as a Monumental Conservator I may be credited with having picked up something, and have cherished for many years a deep sympathy with the Hindu Architect and Hindu Mason, who are worthy representatives of the great body of Hindu craftsmen who form one of the chief numerical items of the population. On the threshold I would point out the glorious example of the Emperor Akbar, a name still to conjure with, and which ought to be conserved in every Hindu workshop! He may be seen in the illuminated copy of the "Ain-i-Akbari," in company with the Native Architect, and with the plan of a building in his hand, for he loved the noble Art of Architecture." (*Ibid.*, p. 97).

columns, tracery and screens, balconies, bracket capitals, and so forth. An inspection of its beautiful plates should convince anyone that there is no difficulty whatever in finding examples or suggestions in existing buildings for any feature that may be needed. Architects using the Indian style have two rich sources of inspiration to draw from—the ancient architecture of the country, and the Muhammadan styles brought in by the Mughal conquerors.¹⁵ They have therefore an infinity of details at their command, giving them full scope for the most stately and ornate, as well as the most simple structures. All that the West has to supply to make the style perfectly adapted to modern requirements is careful planning and modern scientific methods of construction. The Indian style as applied to modern buildings is still in its infancy, and there is plenty of room for originality on the part of trained architects who may take it up. I can assure them from my own experience that it is the most suitable style for India, and most delightful to work in, as the Indian craftsmen have still sufficient intimate knowledge of it to grasp your intentions at once."

VI

Mr. Oertel's main contention is that architecture in India should be Indian, and so he takes good care to explain that an Indian design, is as applicable to a public building as a Renaissance or Gothic design *in the matter of cost and plan*. In this he was supported in the course of the Discussion that followed the reading of Mr. Oertel's Paper, by such an eminent architect as Mr. H. V. Lanchester, F.R.I.B.A., who has considerable Indian architectural experience and who was personally consulted by His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, in connection with the plans for the building of the New Capital. Mr. Lanchester was of opinion that "in regard to cost if they built an elaborate building, Indian architecture was costly, but not more costly than the same degree of elaboration in Renaissance work. The simpler style of building could be executed with as little cost as any form of building one could

15. Mr. Oertel's statement, "the Muhammadan styles were brought in by the Mughal conquerors"—does not represent, it seems, on a closer analysis of the psychology, structure and history of Indian Muhammadan architecture, the real truth. Major Keith, formerly of the Indian Archaeological Survey, has held for a long time the view expressed in the following sentence—"Admirers of Moslem art sometimes fail to recognise that its development is more or less a Hindu development, as we see in the Hindusthani architecture of to-day." (*Vide* Major Keith's article, "The Indian Problem in Relation to Indian Art and Architecture", in the April-May, 1913 issue of this Magazine, p. 90). Mr. E. B. Havell in his truly monumental work on *Indian Architecture* (John Murray, 1913), as the result of a masterly survey of the whole subject of Indian Architecture, Hindu as well as Muhammadan, during the Moslem period of Indian History, has demonstrated by a powerful analysis of the characteristic features and details of what are known as the thirteen Indo-Saracenic styles, that all of these are adaptations of Hindu, Jain, or Buddhist ideas, rather than importations from abroad. (*Vide* also Mr. Havell's article, *Indian Architecture*, in the Dawn Magazine for July-August, 1913, p. 18, and especially footnote 1, pp. 18-21).

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device." And Mr. Lanchester was supported by Mr. R. F. Chisholm, F.R.I.B.A., a former Consulting Architect to the Madras Government, who urged that "it was a mistake to imagine that Indian styles were expensive." To come back to Mr. Oertel : "I have been engaged for thirty years," said he, "in the erection of buildings in India, and my experience is that it makes practically no difference as regards cost whether a building is designed in an Indian or a European style. The cost depends on other considerations apart from style--viz., whether costly or cheap materials are used, whether the design is extravagant or economical, and whether the building is ornamental or plain. There is nothing in the Indian style which necessitates extravagant design or costly ornamentation. The fear that the indigenous style is too costly for everyday use is disproved by the buildings already erected. There is no necessity for introducing expensive features, such as domes and kiosks, in all buildings. They can be given a distinctively Indian appearance even without these adjuncts, and the cost can be kept down by selecting the cheapest materials locally available. One characteristically Indian feature is the *chajja*¹⁶, or overhanging slab cornice, which protects the walls from rain and sun, and throws a most effective shadow. The introduction of this one feature alone will give a distinctively Indian character to any building without materially enhancing the cost, as suitable stone slabs are easily obtainable--as for instance, in the neighbourhood of Agra and Delhi--and the *chajja* can be made plain or elaborate, and with or without carved stone brackets to suit the character of the buildings and the funds available."

Next, "as for the fear expressed that the Indian style does not lend itself to the provision of sufficiently spacious and airy apartments, or to a plan suitable to modern Western requirements," Mr. Oertel gives his view as follows : "I do not think there is any foundation for such an assertion. The style can be successfully applied to any plan whatsoever. A number of handsome edifices have been erected within recent years at Allahabad, Agra, Lucknow and elsewhere in the indigenous style which fully prove its adaptability to all modern requirements." And Mr. Oertel furnishes details of several cases, in point--details both as to the plans of the buildings and their cost, which the interested reader may look up in the pages of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October, 1913, where Mr. Oertel's Paper is reproduced in full.

16. At a Lecture on Musalman Architecture in India, delivered last March at the University Hall, Lahore, under the presidency of Vice-Chancellor Rev. Dr. J. C. R. Ewing, Mr. Gordon Sanderson of the Archaeological Survey of India whose very important work, "The Report on Modern Indian Architecture" issued by the Government of India (1913) has drawn widespread attention, referred to the importance of this feature of Indian architecture. From a magic lantern slide of a building in Delhi palace, he showed how the *chajja* or sloping slab cornice shading the walls of Indian buildings from the noon-day sun. A lengthy abstract of the series of Mr. Sanderson's lectures in the University Hall, Lahore appeared in leading Anglo-Indian and Indian papers--(Vide the daily *Bengalee*, March 30, 1913). The reader will find ample illustrations of the *chajja* in the "Report" mentioned above.

And lastly, Mr. Oertel briefly disposes of one current opinion—"It is generally considered that the only good examples of Indian architecture to be found in the country are the temples, tombs, and mosques,¹⁷ but this is by no means the case.¹⁸ Charming specimens of domestic architecture may be seen in the Mogul palaces and residences of Indian Chiefs, while there is hardly a bazaar which will not furnish delightful instances of the humbler class of dwellings, so that there is no lack of materials for the architectural student." And with special reference to Akbar's new capital at Fatehpur Sikri which was built by the Emperor to enable himself to live near the Saint Selim Chishti, Mr. Oertel makes the following observation :—"Here may be seen examples of all kinds of public and domestic buildings in a marvellous state of preservation, including mosques and tombs, public offices and audience halls, a mint, bazaar, and caravanserais, as well as royal residences and palaces of nobles and ladies of the Court."

[TO BE CONCLUDED]

17. This is the view advanced by Lord Curzon in his Letter to the London *Times* (7th October, 1912).

18. A similar expression of opinion is to be found in a joint Letter from Mr. T. W. Rhys Davids, the President, Mr. W. Rothenstein, the Chairman of the Executive Committee, and Mr. A. H. Fox-Strangways, the Honorary Secretary, of the India Society of London, which appeared in the London *Times* of 17th December, 1912 :—"Whether Indians were capable of such work or not would depend, we imagine, largely on the extent to which they understand and sympathise with the practical requirements. Where these conditions have obtained, Indians have raised within recent times many domestic buildings (as at Muttra and in Orissa), a railway station (at Alwai), palaces (along the ghats at Benares and in the sacred places), and Royal palaces (as now at Bikanir). *There is no need to suppose that their architectural ideas are bounded by mosques and tombs.* Few would doubt their ability to build a practical and imposing Darbar Hall." Since this was written, there has appeared a very valuable work on *Modern Indian Architecture* which is an official publication, from which we take the following extracts which will throw light on the capacities of the indigenous builders in some of the Native States. "The new Darbar Hall in the old Palace at Bikanir was begun in 1887 and completed in 1896. It was worked out by local craftsmen and is a fine piece of work, built at the express wish of H. H. the Maharaja in the local style. Plate 54 shows the courtyard of this new Darbar Hall, with the ladies' gallery above. *There is originality in every line of it down to the smallest detail.* The design of the almost Corinthian capitals, the three centred arches, and carving which adorns them, have all been carefully thought out. The south-east corner of the Hall, the photo. of which is taken from the approach terrace, is a splendid piece of work (Plate 55). There is an air of delightful incongruousness about it. A spherical bay window, supported by a half column and set in an angle of the building rests "cheek by jowl" with two other projecting windows. *The imagination of the builder has had full play.....*The area of the city (Bikanir) which is crowded with excellent specimens of modern architecture of a most characteristic type, is broken up into a series of little open squares, round which the houses are built. Among the citizens of Bikanir, there seems to be some rivalry in the matter of their houses, the very best stimulant that can be given to architecture. All the houses illustrated here, unless otherwise stated, are the work of master-masons, natives of Bikanir, working at the rate of annas eight to rupee one daily. To quote the Assistant State Engineer who kindly accompanied me on my inspection, *they don't believe in plans.*" (Ibid., pp. 15-16, and 12-13).

SECTION II: STUDENTS' COLUMN

FRESH OPENING OF AN HONOURABLE CAREER FOR INDIAN STUDENTS UNDER GOVERNMENT AUSPICES

We desire to draw prominently the attention of our readers to the following announcement of the Government of India made in an official communiqué, dated, Simla, September 27, 1913 :

The Government of India have had under their consideration the recommendation of the Conference of Orientalists held at Simla in July 1911, that opportunity should be afforded to Indian students *to accompany Conservators in order to learn the principles and practice of architecture.* They have decided in communication with those Local Governments who have Consulting Architects *to award three scholarships of the value of Rs. 100 a month to Indians,* in order to facilitate this training. As there are greater facilities for architectural education and for a combination of a thorough course of theoretical instruction with practical training in Bombay than elsewhere in India, they have decided that these scholars should be trained in the office of the Consulting Architect to the Government of Bombay. The conditions of the three architectural scholarships will be as follows. (a) The scholarships which are open to all natives of India will be of the value of Rs. 100 a month each, the cost of which will be defrayed from Imperial Revenues. (b) The scholarships will be granted for architectural training at the office of the Consulting Architect to the Government of Bombay, where the scholars will also attend the architectural classes at the Sir J. J. School of Art. *They will be tenable for a period of three years in the first instance, but may be extended to a fourth year* on the condition that the scholarships for that year will be given only to those scholars who pass a certain standard, to be prescribed hereafter, in an examination at the end of the third year's training. At the close of their training, those scholars who appear to possess the necessary aptitude will, so far as possible, be taken into the Archeological Department in order to give them practical instruction for one or two years on a suitable salary.

The following procedure will be observed in the selection of candidates for the scholarships. Each local Government will be asked to nominate as soon as possible a candidate who has taken the B. A., or other equivalent Degree in an Indian University. These qualifications will only be dispensed with *in exceptional cases.* The candidate must produce a medical certificate of physical fitness to undergo the proposed courses of study at Bombay. *The Government of India will select three scholars from among the candidates nominated by the Local Governments.* The candidates to whom the scholarships are awarded will proceed to Bombay and report themselves to the Consulting Architect to the Government of Bombay not later than a certain date to be fixed hereafter. The scholarships will be payable from the dates of the report of their arrival in Bombay.

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Whole
No. 191

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and

Dawn Society's Magazine

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1. Caste and Christianity: Difficulties of Raising the Native Christian Community in India: Being also an Attempt at an Exposition of Hindu and Christian Principles of Social Organisation

Part II : Topics for Discussion

(*Nil*—Space not available in this number)

Part III

Section I : Indian Educational and Allied Movements

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PART I: INDIANA

CASTE AND CHRISTIANITY: DIFFICULTIES OF RAISING THE NATIVE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY IN INDIA :

BEING ALSO AN ATTEMPT AT AN EXPOSITION OF HINDU AND CHRISTIAN
PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL ORGANISATION

I

In the October, 1913 issue of *The East and The West*, the London organ of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, there is a very important article under the title of *Reverges of Caste upon the Christian Church in India*, the main burden of which is that the Christian missionaries in India are at present confronted with a very serious problem—which centres round the fact that there is extreme difficulty in disowning Indian Christians who are Christians by birth-right, but who are “moral failures”, or even “moral outlaws.” For, as pointed out by the writer of the article, who has worked as an Indian missionary at Benares from 1909 to 1912 in connection with the London Missionary Society,—“If the son of a Christian is not a Christian, what is he to be? He cannot become a Hindu. It is quite true that he may become a Moslem, but it is not likely, for various reasons, that many will accept Islam as their refuge. The Census Paper offers him no alternative; he must be a Christian, whatever his convictions may be. The English Government thus can give no help in the matter to the man who has ceased to possess the Christian faith, or who has never attained to it, though his parents are Christian people. One day, when I was out visiting in the villages, two catechists, who had gone in the other direction, returned to camp and told me that they had been received in a very friendly way by a peasant in one village, who assured them that he

knew a good deal about Christianity, and that he was a friend of certain of our Christians. Two or three days later I went over to find him myself, and was disgusted to find that the Christian whom he knew best was a drunken artisan¹, then suffering from a disease produced by his excesses. Yet such a man was a Christian, and *he could be nothing else!* In most Western countries, if a man is out of sympathy with the moral ideas of the Church, he is bound to be uncomfortable within its borders. In India the more doubtful his position becomes, the more he clings to his only social refuge. Not merely is the wastrel of our Indian Christian community unconscious that his conduct cuts him off from any real participation in all that this community means, but he is subconsciously *impelled to keep in with the rest of the Christians, and indeed to force himself upon them.* If he loses them, he loses all. It is true that in great cities non-caste communities of moral outlaws, (as in a European city) are developing a circle into which any may enter. Though such communities will increase, they may be neglected as far as concerns typical Indian life and for the purpose of our present problem. For, to nine-tenths of India it is still true that self-interest prompts the most unworthy among the Christian community to cling most tenaciously to the Christian name. It will at once be obvious how terrible a thing it is for the progress of the Christian Church that the Christian name should be inevitably sullied by the moral failure of such unfortunate by-products of our work.²

II

The writer points out very lucidly what in India prevents "the natural sloughing off which saves our Western Churches from some of the worst results of her failures." It is again the caste system or the situation created by it. The writer of the article explains himself as follows:—"The revenge of caste upon the Indian Church is that it insists, and successfully insists, that to all generations the descendants of Christians shall be Christians by indefeasible right. It is as though Caste should say to us: You have beaten me; but you shall not shake me off. You have baptised this man. My

¹ In the Report of Commission No. II of the World Missionary Conference, 1910, held at Edinburgh (p. 105: Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier), we read the following:—"The Commission would draw attention to the fact that drunkenness is beginning to threaten the life of the Church in the mission field, particularly in those places where the results of contact with the West are most felt. From India warnings of the danger are most frequent, although the climate and the traditional habits of the people make it the less excusable. It is humiliating to record that more than one correspondent speaks of the growth of this vice as mainly due to Western example."

² *Vide* Footnote 12.

revenge upon you shall be that you shall have him, whatever his future character may prove, and you shall have this man's descendants for all time. Every thief and adulterer among them shall bear your Master's name into the brothel or the gaol!" And again, we are quoting the same acute observer :—" It seems as if Caste defeated at the conversion of any of her sons were to say to the missionary in revenge : ' So be it. You shall have him. You shall have him so completely, that *you and you only* shall be finally responsible for his food, his dress, his speech, and all the influences around him³. With your will, against your will, he shall henceforth be yours in body, soul, and spirit.' India has deliberately and persistently declared, in every act and at every point of intercourse, that this man who refused to obey every rigid rule of caste can no longer be regarded as one of her sons⁴. The only alternative left him is to live under the missionary's protection, and to look up to him for guidance in his future development. Every member of a Study Circle knows that caste forces upon the missionary the question whether he is to provide

³ "One reason", writes Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley, I.C.S., Superintendent of Census Operations, Bengal (1911) in his "Census Report for Bengal, Behar and Orissa", "One reason why the *aboriginal tribes* are more receptive of Christianity than other communities is that a convert to Christianity is not so completely cut off from his relatives and friends. In parts of Ranchi, for instance, where the Christian community is strongly represented, not only have their heathen brethren no objection to eating with the Christians, but a renegade Christian can be re-admitted into his original tribe. A further attraction is the hope of obtaining assistance from the missionaries in their difficulties and protection against the coercion of landlords. Keenly attached to their land and having few interests outside it, they believe that the missionary will stand by them in their agrarian disputes and act as their legal advisers. Unfortunately this belief also leads to a certain amount of desertions, self-interested converts going from one denomination to another in the hope that a change of pastors will further their interests. A number of these converts, moreover, have, before now, apostacised on finding that conversion failed to secure the temporal benefits they expected. Perverts from Christianity have been prominent among agrarian agitators, and have displayed bitter animosity against their former pastors." (*Ibid.*, pp. 220-221.) See Footnotes 10 and 14.

⁴ In this connection read the following extracts from the Rev. C. F. Andrews' *The Renaissance in India* (1912) :—The Christian convert is a loser as well as a gainer. He suffers the loss of all things for the excellence which is in Christ. The spiritual ties of his past life, many of which were good and noble, are broken, not by his own will, but by Hindu orthodoxy, which regards him as defiled and polluted. As he enters the Church by baptism, he becomes dead to his old friends and relatives, by their act, not by his own. The priestly ceremonies, which are performed at his excommunication, place under curse any one, even his nearest and dearest, who eats with him. Furthermore, there is no possibility of re-admission. Orthodox Hinduism is in this respect wholly intolerant, and freedom of conscience on this side simply does not exist. Far too infrequently do we of the West realise the conservatism of the average Hindu home, and its reactionary power. It is this fact which makes

financial support for the baptised converts⁵. The would-be follower of Christ is not as a rule anxious to depend upon the Christian community

the education of women in India so vital and pressing a problem at the present time. Here, then, is one of the greatest difficulties in the way of the acclimatisation of Christianity within Hindu society. Hinduism itself refuses to allow it. Caste prevents it." (Ibid., pp. 180-181 : Published by Young People's Missionary Movement, 78, Fleet Street, London, 1912). But it is not merely on one side that the Indian Christian is put out of caste. The pathos of the situation, and often its horror, lies in the fact that he is looked down upon and often outcasted by his English fellow-Christians. While there are the noblest examples of true Christian sympathy, there are also the most sordid examples of un-Christian intolerance. Disputes have arisen even with regard to the burial of the Christian dead and separate cemeteries have often become necessary for Indian and English Christians—as though the colour-bar must continue even after death." (Ibid., p. 189). Rev. Mr. Andrews goes on to support and illustrate the above statements by a reference to the concrete case of an educated Indian Christian gentleman, "whose life-history was related to him personally" by the former. "What treatment did you receive within the Church after you became a Christian?" "That," he replied, "was almost the hardest part of all. It was so unexpected. I was a new convert and had seen little of Christians hitherto. I had read in the New Testament the Commandments of love and brotherhood. I had also suffered so much that I thought, 'Now surely my troubles are over. I am among Christ's followers.' I had sustained myself with the hope that I should be welcomed with loving kindness by my new Christian friends. I knew that all Englishmen were Christians, and the missionary who baptised me treated me as a brother indeed. And so, in my ignorance, when I met an Englishman, at first, I would go up to him and say, 'I am a Christian'; but I was received with cold looks and sometimes with abuse, and would be told to get out. Here and there I found a true Christian, but the majority of the English I have met seem to regard me as belonging to a lower caste." "But there is all the difference," I interrupted, "between this treatment, bad as it is, and caste itself." "Not so much," he replied, sadly, "not so much as you would suppose. To me, as I came from Hinduism, it seemed just 'caste' over again. Believe me, Padre Sahib, I have suffered slights harder to bear from them who should have been my brother Christians than from my relations who outcasted me." And Rev. Mr. Andrews goes on to remark—"Can we wonder if the Indian Christian community, under such treatment *from both sides*, within and without the Church, appears at some times like a rudderless ship adrift on the stormy waters? It would be sad indeed if the Church which condemns caste in the Indian Christian were to condone it in the English....Those who have been abroad and seen the treatment of coloured races by the white will understand the impossibility of success, and the difficulty of the Indian Christian position, while these evils are still rampant. When the educated classes see, on the other hand, that Christians are ready to treat such members of other races in every way as their fellow-men, belonging to one common, human family together, then they feel that Christ is indeed triumphing in the world, and that His teaching has not been given in vain to the children of men." (Ibid., pp. 194, 172, 189, 173-4.) See also Footnotes 10 and 3.

5. *Vide* the following extracts from an article on "Self-Support" in the Indian Church", in the "Year Book of Missions in India, 1912" edited by the Rev. J. P. Jones, D.D., and published by the Christian Literature Society for India, 1912—

or the Mission ; but he knows that once he has thrown in his lot with the Christians and refused to be bound within the narrow restrictions of his caste, he will be definitely outlawed. *In the caste system it is impossible to fall downwards as it is to fall upwards.* The law of Indian Society is that birth is the only gate into a particular caste. And further, *if a man moves downwards at all, he must fall right out of the system.* He can find no resting place with those who were previously below him in caste....As the new comer begins to attain to a real contact with Indian life and thought *outside the great ports and away from the influences of the foreign communities,* the impression is hour by hour forced upon him that caste masters every act and motive of Indian life. Imagine a system of guilds as enthusiastic and as powerful as any system of trade unions, yet touching the wife and every member of the family as well as the man himself. Give to this trade unionism the terrible weapons afforded by the control of every marriage and the power to excommunicate from intercourse in eating and drinking ; allow the union to exercise these weapons by a vote of the majority at the first attempt of any member of the clan to break away from the established routine, and you will have some idea of what caste means in India. It is very clear, too, that from the highest to the lowest, caste has provided and regularised for each a certain position, and that there are certain definite and positive protections which it grants even to those at the bottom of the scale. It is not alone those who are blind defenders of the Indian religions of to-day who see beauty and meaning in this great system. Many of those who value some aspects of caste are people who sympathise strongly with Christian Missions. Nor shall we readily believe that any organisation inherently bad from top to bottom can

"Modern missionary conditions are not conducive to the self-support of the mission church. Dependence upon the foreigner not only for spiritual leadership but also for financial support is too manifest and too largely controls the missionary situation. Modern missions were not built upon the apostolic foundation of financial independence. We of the West are impatient for results and try to hurry the process of conversion and of evangelisation through the liberal use of money." (Ibid., p. 209)

Again, in the matter of education of baptised converts, the missionary or his Society has to undertake heavy burdens. Thus, the Report of Commission No. III of the World Missionary Conference contains the following candid statements made by a Christian missionary working in South India :—"Under the present system we take boys and girls into our schools from the infant standard, and feed, clothe and educate them for six, eight, and ten years, without their ever paying one pie for their education, or at most the barest pittance. In so doing we are pauperising our people and making beggars of them. We are instilling into their minds from infancy the utterly false idea that the mission owes them a living, and that they have a right to be fed out of its bounty. Our boarding schools are crowded with boys who are there simply to be fed and clothed." (Ibid., pp. 287-288).

have endured for so many centuries by a great and wise people. Several ideas in this article will suggest how valuable some aspects of caste regulation may prove."

III

Having thus *generally* discriminated between the rights and the wrongs of caste as an institution, the writer points out that it breeds intolerance as between man and man, because it insists, and successfully insists, that every member who would "even for the sake of conscience" go over to any non-Hindu religious organisation must be treated as a complete outcaste—as wholly outside the pale of Hindu society. Thus: "Indian life is in water-tight compartments. To the purely Indian mind the conception of passing from one compartment to another is barely possible⁶. Certain of the early traditions prove clearly that things were not always so fixed, and the Christian, and to some extent the Moslem, propaganda have made the idea credible. But, as a rule, the caste idea has reasserted itself, and the thought that men can be won from another section of the community is grasped with difficulty by the Indian mind"⁶. The writer calls this feature of caste, the "**fixity of caste*"; and he further points out that the caste idea is allied to another idea connected with the theory of teaching in India. Caste has no conception of winning over a member of another caste to its side⁶—it is wholly non-

6. But read the following extracts from an article on *The Churches and the Christian Community* in the "Year Book of Missions in India, 1912":—"The caste system reveals many evils which all people deplore. But the way it binds men together is often a help to the progress of Christianity. When a few from a caste accept the Christian faith they exercise a strong influence to bring other members too. It is the family connexion which brings the largest influence to bear upon the growth of our community. A man desires to marry his son into a family of relatives in a neighbouring village. Those relatives are all non-Christians and these plead eagerly with them until they win them to the Christian fold. These family ties are becoming very potent in the growth of the community." (*Ibid.*, p. 182). So also in the Report on Commission No. II of the World Missionary Conference, 1910, we read:—"When the members of some families have dared to join the Christian Church, their friends have at first persecuted them, then have learned to watch them with interest, and finally have been convinced that these converts^{were} changing in character as well as in outward circumstances, and changing undoubtedly for the better. Thus, the family ties which in the beginning formed a hindrance, become helpful to the growth of the Church. Families join themselves to the Christian movements because their friends have done so, and in doing so have prospered; many come because they see that Christian children are cared for and educated, and have in every way a better prospect in life than the children of the non-Christian community around them." (*Ibid.*, p. 87). And again, on pp. 91-92 of the same Report, we read:—"In India, the individual is not the unit of social life, he is a mere fraction of an overgrown family, whom custom constrains in all things to act together. On the other hand, the village system is on the whole favourable

evangelistic ; and there is reason for it, declares the writer with considerable acuteness of observation, and the reason is to be found in the Indian theory of teaching : "The Indian theory of teaching as a rule prefers

to the spread and growth of Christianity, though being a compact organism, it tends to resist the profession of Christian faith on the part of its members as a disintegrating force threatening its own existence." The result is that occasionally mass movements towards Christianity occur. "The expression, *mass movement*, is intended to indicate the movements towards the Church of families and groups of families, sometimes of entire clans or villages, rather than of individuals. In such cases it must often be recognised that only a few out of a large number have any definite idea why they are moving towards Christian truth, while many seem to be moving only because others have moved, and they are carried along by a current which they themselves hardly understand." (Ibid., p. 85). *Vide* footnote 10.

In the above connection, however, it is to be noted that the foregoing statements relative to conversion by mass movements has reference primarily to what are known as the depressed or the outcaste classes of Hindu Society. These do not fall within the four recognised castes, but form a fifth caste apart, known in South India as the *Panchama*. Thus, we gather from the "Year Book of Missions in India, 1912" the following facts—"Of the whole Christian community in India ninety per cent. have come from the depressed classes, or the outcaste community. Of the remaining tenth of the community, about four-fifths are from the respectable Sudra classes. Of the remaining one-fiftieth, most are from the Muslim faith ; of these again the majority were originally members of the Hindu community, but they passed through Muhammadanism into Christianity. Probably not more than one in a thousand (of the whole Christian community in India) comes from the Brahman caste. This is largely because Brahmins have so much to lose in becoming Christians." (Ibid., pp. 203-206). It is to be remembered that the outcaste section of the Hindu Society is also organised partly on caste lines, and when some of these come over to the Christian fold they are sometimes instrumental in persuading other outcaste neighbours belonging to the same organisation to come over, and so, "occasionally," we are quoting from the "Year Book of Missions in India, 1912" (p. 263), "large bodies and communities are led by various considerations to move together from their ancestral faith to Christianity." "Generally," as has been stated, "these mass movements are aided by the caste system which has added force and momentum to communal uprisings. Mass movements towards Christianity almost always, if not invariably, follow these lines of caste cleavage. In South India, where these movements are best known, a few of the Panchama (outcaste) divisions and others of the depressed classes have found courage enough only in united action and communal solidarity to face and overcome the opposition and persecution incident to this change of faith." (Ibid., p. 263). We have here to point out that this caste spirit (which, however, it would be more correct to interpret as the communal spirit), which is a drag in the beginning of any movement towards Christianity but which acts as an aid to conversion in the next following stage enabling masses and communities to come over to the Christian fold, is in the next succeeding or the third stage, a great hindrance to the development, among the baptised Indians, of Christianity,—which exalts the individual at the expense of, or above, the community ; since it is clear that without the cultivation of such Christian individualism by the baptised Indians, there could be no final parting for them from the Hindu

the idea of a semi-conscious infection to that of definite propaganda. The *Guru* sits in his monastery and all who desire to be taught come to him : speaking broadly, he does not go out to preach." To sum up ; the non-evangelistic feature of Indian caste primarily explains the "fixity of caste", but the latter receives support also from the Indian theory of teaching, which is not missionary or propagandist. And arguing further, the writer points out that the non-missionary character of Hindu spiritual teaching is in alliance with another vital factor,—that of the conception of spiritual salvation among the Hindus—which in theory is almost wholly individualistic ; and consequently has hardly any *social* reference. "The idea of salvation taught by Hinduism or Buddhism is almost entirely *individualistic* in theory."

Now, given the above premises of the writer, we may be permitted to deduce the following corollaries : Hinduism keeps general society and the individual's particular or special religious convictions apart. Therefore, Hinduism is both communal and non-communal. The Hindu scheme of spiritual salvation is entirely individualistic ; but Hinduism lays down a code of practice and conduct—which is wholly communal—which, in fact, represents the standard of the

ideals of social life and conduct, which are intimately bound up with the communal, as opposed to the individualistic, spirit. Thus, the Report of Commission No. II of the World Missionary Conference, 1910 (p. 370), contains the following statements by Rev. J. A. Sharrock, M. A. (S. P. G., South India) : "The evil of caste prevails all over India, especially in South India ; and it is the *caste* in the *Christian Church* that is the great curse we have to deal with. People come over in tens of thousands—they are held back for years by caste, then it is caste that pushes them into the Church by mass movements, and it is caste that causes the terrible stagnation that prevails. Our Christians—even our clergy and lay agents—will not for the most part dine together, much less marry outside the limits of their caste. The history of South Indian Missions is very largely a history of caste troubles and caste relapses. Caste is felt more or less strongly in different places and missions, but it is killing the life of the Church everywhere, and always." The same reverend gentleman who was sometime Principal of the S. P. G. College, Trichinopoly, in his widely read book on "South Indian Missions" (published by the S. P. G., London, 1910) makes similar statements (p. 192) :—"Christians are won in masses and it is caste that pushes them over the borderland into the Church ; it is caste also that prevents them from rising above a fixed point. We can show successes in education, in self-support and self-government, also a certain amount of evangelistic zeal, but still the fact remains that these great mass movements are invariably followed by periods of deadly stagnation—there is always the same fatal cycle, first, the conversion of a large body of some low caste or outcaste community, then a moment's zeal with general progress all round, and lastly a terrible state of lethargy. When men are baptised, idolatry must be given up, but caste, which is the greater and more insidious evil of the two, is retained, hence there is no real life." And again, on p. 194 of the same work, Rev.

*clan or community—to which, so long as the individual belongs to the community forming an *organic* part of it, he is required specifically to conform. This communal standard, however, must not and does not exhaust the individual Hindu's duties. While strictly conforming to the general plan of the socio-religious life of the community in his capacity as an *organic* part of it, and so helping to foster communal solidarity in matters of moral and social discipline,—the individual Hindu is permitted, in matters of all higher life of the Spirit which do not properly and necessarily come within the scope and jurisdiction of the *common life*, to pursue unfettered his scheme of *personal* salvation—whether derived from his household spiritual preceptor, or from a religious ascetic or saint who has renounced the world in favour of an exclusive devotion to matters of the Spirit. Thus, what the individual Westerner is legitimately entitled to call his freedom of conscience in respect of all truly spiritual concerns is directly safeguarded to every individual Hindu. But Hinduism sets up in addition a *common* code of *social* ethics and religion—which is intended to provide a general basis of life for each particular community, whereby is directly assured and safeguarded the growth of that community *as a community*,—and *indirectly* also the growth of every component member,—so far as he needs help, moral and spiritual, of the general community and is not disposed to stand on a platform of isolated self-regulation. In other words, the moral and spiritual life of every individual Hindu is not swallowed up or exhausted by the socio-religious life of the community to which he may belong,—notwith-

J. A. Sharrock observes. "Most missionaries leave caste severely alone and yield rather than fight. They urge that if they touch this thorny subject, they will become unpopular, and so lose their influence over their people. Fifteen years ago, a "Society for the Suppression of Caste" was founded by a few zealous natives, but *very few of the clergy, English or Indian, supported it*, and all that it can do is to disseminate leaflets in order to keep the matter of reform well before the Church."

So also the Rev. C. F. Andrews, M. A., of the Cambridge Mission, Delhi in his recent book, "The Renaissance in India : Its Missionary Aspect" writes :—"The Christian Church in India turning away from Christ, has attempted again and again to compromise with caste. The most ancient form of Christianity in India, the Syrian Church, has not been able to check its observance. The same was the case with the Jesuit Missions of the sixteenth century. Two centuries later, the early Lutheran Missions allowed the same compromise to take place. Even in our own modern missions in South India, caste has again and again reappeared among the converts. But wherever and whenever this has been allowed, stagnation has resulted." (Ibid., p. 184 : London; Young People's Missionary Movement, 78, Fleet Street, 1912)

With regard to the Roman Catholic Missionaries, they "admittedly do not interfere with caste distinctions. They object only to those caste customs which are distinctly idolatrous ; and the converts conform to most of their caste customs and often claim to belong to their caste." (Vide page 70 of the 1911 Census Report for the

standing that he is advised and is required definitely to conform to the rules and practices of the community—constituting its common moral and spiritual discipline and standard—in the interests of the general body of members constituting the community. Thus, a Hindu, from one point of view, is a Hindu only as a member of a particular Hindu caste or community, required to obey a code of conduct and practice, moral and religious, which represents the communal standard. And from another point of view, a communal Hindu is also a Hindu in the Western sense, because in his separate, individual capacity, he may hold and practise apart from his community, if so inclined, certain religious ideas and principles which are specially applicable to his own particular case, or to his stage of growth—which to him may thus be said to be matters of personal religious conviction⁷ and of vital religious import—which, if you please, may also be styled matters of individual conscience. In most cases, obviously, the general social, moral and religious discipline that is enforced by communal Hinduism is a considerable aid to the individual Hindu, offering him a standard when he is unable to reach higher flights, and providing him with a platform which keeps him from falling away, when he is tempted to go astray. While, also, such discipline does not interfere with his freedom, by steady degrees to grow within himself in pursuance of his *special* spiritual needs, seeing that he is permitted to carry out his personal schemes of salvation, if he has any, without let or hindrance, provided that, retaining his position as a member of his community, he does not by renouncing or defying its practices and discipline set an example of revolt and so contribute to the ultimate disintegration of the communal body politic, and to the detriment of the collective progress of his society. If the above presentment be held to possess the elements of a rational

Central Provinces and Berar by J. T. Marten, M.A., I.C.S.). So also the Right Revd. H. Whitehead, Bishop of Madras, makes the following observations in an article on "Evangelistic Work among the Masses and its Problems":—"There is the obvious danger of the Indian Christian community crystallizing into a caste. We see signs of them in many parts of South India. Where the converts have been drawn from one particular caste or one special section of the outcastes, the church tends to become a caste church, to lose its missionary zeal and to become infested with a narrowness of thought and sympathy that is fatal to true spiritual progress. One of the gravest perils we have to fear for the Indian Church is its growth on the lines of caste." (*Vide pp. 256-7 of the Year Book of Missions in India, 1912.*)

7. Mr. Pramathanath Bose, B.Sc. (Lond.), F.G.S., late of the Geological Survey of India in his "Hindu Civilisation under British Rule" vol. I., pp. 77, 87 makes the following observations which are quoted in the Bengal Census Report for 1911 by Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley, I.C.S. (p. 226):—"There is probably no religion in the world which allows so much freedom of religious conviction.....It includes all shades of faith. So long as a Hindu conforms to the customs and practices of his society, he may believe what he likes."

explanation of the apparent antagonism between (on the one hand) the religious life and discipline enforced by communal caste, and (on the other) the religious life and discipline which comes within the scope of one's individual regulation and discretion, as matters of individual conscience and individual conviction,—then it must be admitted that the popular Western view that the Hindu religion is essentially a matter of submission and conformity to an external standard and authority would require to be considerably modified. The popular missionary theory is thus phrased by the writer of the article in *The East and The West*: "In India, religion has, as a rule, nothing to do with conviction, but is simply a matter of caste rule.⁸ The Hindu's only idea of what constitutes the acceptance of religion is bounded by the following of external rules. It is in accordance with the Indian rule that a man who conforms to the outward habits of the Christian community shall be regarded as a Christian in the completest sense of the word." Our previous exposition must have made it clear that this is but a one-sided and incomplete statement of the whole truth.

From the point of view of uncompromising individualism, however, the scheme of social and religious communal life (as explained above), tempered and supplemented by a scheme of personal religious life, may seem to undermine the very basis of all individual moral life. But the whole problem of the present and the future with which Western society and civilisation is confronted is, in the first place, how to safeguard collective life (without doing unnecessary injury to the individual), in order that such collective life may be used as a check, whenever necessary, upon the individual, in respect of all unwarranted individualistic assertions against the community,—e.g., by the interposition of adequate corporate influences and duties. And, in the second place, the problem is how, at the same time, to temper or restrain the tyranny of corporate life whenever it should seek to thwart the individual in his efforts to grow *from within* along special characteristic lines. There is

8. The current missionary view also finds expression in the following passages taken from an article on "Hinduism" by Rev. L. P. Larsen, in the "Year Book of Missions in India, 1912" (pp. 78-79)—"The social organisation which is built upon caste and the joint family system leaves little room for such things as personal conviction and individual decision. A Hindu may think what he likes. His religious views the community does not ask about. But in matters of religious and social practices he must do what is required by the customs of his family and the rules of his caste. Hinduism is very tolerant in questions of ideas, but intolerant where practical conformity is threatened. A Hindu is not blamed for accepting Christian ideas, but he must be prepared to suffer the severest penalty if he decides to be baptised and to join the Christian Church." *Vide* Footnote 7.

a general idea among Western-educated Indians that the whole of a given society must be taken to pieces and reduced to atomic units of separated individuals, before it should become possible to predicate the idea of "human brotherhood" in connection with such society. For, the present-day theory of "human brotherhood" is wholly based upon an individualistic conception of social life; but upon that hypothesis, it might as well and as reasonably be argued that the system of family-life which is prevalent throughout the civilised world is a bar to human fellowship—is an obstacle to the consummation or realisation of the ideal of human brotherhood among mankind. The real truth of the matter, however, is that the ideal of communal life is not *by itself* inconsistent with the ideal or the growth of human brotherhood,⁹ although, as a rule, it is

9. There are grounds for holding that communalism has greater chances of promoting a sense of human brotherhood than individualism which is essentially a disintegrating factor in human life. The present social service movement in the West is at bottom a movement necessitated by the growing evils of an immoral individualism. The spirit of communalism is the spirit of mutual aid among members of an organic community. Mere State laws and regulations have been found to be inadequate safeguards for the protection of individual members of a community, against the aggressions of superior individualism; and the need for inculcating the principle of brotherly service (which is the essence of the communal creed) has been and is being daily felt as an antidote against the spirit of heartless and unfair competition fostered by an aggressive individualism. Mere law or legalism is devoid of the spirit of love, of brotherliness, of charity; it can enforce rights, but cannot promote a sense of duty. Individualism can only help in promoting a sense of legal rights,—which, however, is at bottom devoid of the spirit of love, of charity, of dutifulness. The essence of communalism is that it promotes a real sense of brotherhood as between members of a given community through the influence of an appropriate communal environment. The sheet-anchor of individualism, however, is a State-organisation on a centralised basis, the social unit in such an organisation being the individual. On the other hand, the normal growth of the principles of communalism should lead to the formation of larger and larger aggregates of men organised on a decentralised and federal system, the social units in such a large composite organisation being not independent individuals, but independent social groups or communities (co-ordinated and connected in a scheme of federal union). But the principles of Roman State-organisation which are associated with theories of centralisation have gained so much vogue during the last three hundred years or more that the idea of a federal organisation composed of independent social groups or communities has had hardly any chance hitherto. •

Under the modern system of social organisation based upon the individual as the social unit, the cry for Social Service that has been raised, and is sure to be raised with increasing vehemence, as the evil effects of a superior, aggressive, and soulless individualism should become more and more manifest, is one strong evidence that the sense of human brotherhood is not much being promoted on an individualistic basis—a basis of individual rights (as opposed to personal duties), a basis of individualistic gain (as opposed to personal sacrifice). Christianity which in one of its aspects exalts the individual above the community, and in another of its

inconsistent with direct propagandist work on the basis of individualism,—i.e., the bringing together of individual men and women into new credal societies, or their transference from one credal society to another, through the working of the principles of individualism.¹⁰ The formation and re-formation of societies upon a *credal* base is helped by

aspects provides a safeguard against the excesses of individualism by striking an altruistic note in favour of brotherhood between individual and individual has been found, on the whole, to be an inadequate instrument to restrain the individualistic spirit in the dealings of stronger with weaker races. Thus, in his Romanes Lecture for 1902 ("The Relations of the Advanced and the Backward Races of Mankind"), Dr. James Bryce, D. C. L., declares—“Christianity has proclaimed in the most solemn terms the absolute equality and brotherhood of all men. ‘There is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor non-circumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free: but Christ is all in all.’ The precepts which Christianity delivers might have been expected to soften the feelings and tame the pride of the stronger race. It must, however, be admitted that in all or nearly all the countries where white men and black men dwell together, Christianity, though it has brought from without not only devoted missionaries but such a band of noble and self-sacrificing women as went after the war to the Southern States to teach the newly liberated negroes, has failed to impress the lesson of human equality and brotherhood upon the whites established in the country. Their sense of scornful superiority resists its precepts. Law may attempt to secure equal admission to public conveyances or public entertainments. But the look of scorn, the casual blow, the brutal oath thrown at one who dares not resist it—these are injuries which the sentiment of the dominant race allows them. Good feelings and good manners cannot be improved by statutes. The best hope lies in the slow growth of a better sentiment. When the educated sections of the dominant race have come to realise how essential it is to the future of their country that the backward race should be helped forward and rendered friendly, their influence will by degrees filter down through the masses of the people and efface the scorn they feel for the weaker race.” (*Ibid.*, 2nd edn.: Oxford Clarendon Press, 1903; pp. 40–41, 43).

• 10. On this question of individualism in relation to India and England, read the following extracts from a leading article in the Calcutta *Statesman* (Nov. 9, 1913, daily edition):—“*In England, the social unit is the individual; here it is the caste.* In England, a man may become a Muhammadan, a Buddhist or a Free-thinker, and his social relations will be unaffected. In India, on the contrary, conversion to Christianity cuts the individual loose from his social moorings. In the past, thousands have with courage and devotion sacrificed all for their new faith. But the disadvantages of such conversions have been as obvious as their heroism. The number of those prepared to accept complete isolation from family, friends, and old associates must necessarily be small. (See Footnote, 4). Meredith Townsend has very shrewdly observed that, whereas Christianity deprives a convert of all the protection of caste, Islam offers him a new, large, and powerful caste in place of his own, and he suggested that Christianity would never make a rapid advance until it could provide a similar compensation. After all, a man cannot exercise his proper influence unless he leads a normal life in his own environment, so that the Indian convert, isolated from his people and often dependent upon the mission for his livelihood, could not play his part as a living example of Christianity among his own community. The

the individualistic theory of life; but the progress and security and stability of human social organisations is promoted neither by a one-sided, thorough-going scheme of individualism—nor by a one-sided, thorough-going scheme of collectivism or communalism. For, in moral and religious life, the progress of the individual is not wholly individual, but is also, and to no inconsiderable degree, the corollary and result of a high level of communal life, and of safeguards provided by the ethical and religious standard of a given community, considered as a corporate existence, whose solidarity, security and stability cannot be guaranteed or assured, if every individual member is to claim an *unlimited* liberty of action in the name of freedom of individual conscience, or freedom of individual conviction, since apparently the only effect of such conduct would be to reduce that community to the level, more or less, of a **secular organisation** devoid of any definite corporate or collective ideal and standard, ethical and spiritual, such as could serve as a guide to the community as a whole. Hinduism suggests one means of solution of the problem of the Individual-and-Society as explained above—a solution which prevents a given society from becoming primarily a *secular* society (dependent practically upon State laws for the more effective regulation of conduct);—and also provides, for the individual, personal freedom to seek along individual lines any scheme of individual salvation, so long as he is not unmindful of his duty to forward the common moral and religious interests of the community of which he forms or should form an organic part.

Western individualism, on the other hand, would demand that society should be left to be, to the largest possible extent, secular with no common rules of socio-religious conduct and practice to guide it, the general moral level of the community being determined *mainly* by secular standards embodied in legislation and enforced at the point of

special merit of the mass movement is that it involves no demoralising exclusion for the individual. When a whole community goes over, its social life and daily activities continue as before." But read also the following observations of the Rev. C. F. Andrews, M. A., of the Cambridge Mission, Delhi, contained in an article entitled *The Indian Missionary Ideal* in "The East and The West" for January, 1911 (p. 50) :—"Indian Christianity has not had its age of martyrdom; herein lies its present weakness. I do not forget the noble instances of individual converts who have been faithful until death, nor again the heroism of the Mutiny days. *But the great mass movements which have made the bulk of the Indian conversions have brought worldly gain to the converts instead of loss.* All the more needful is it, therefore, that the way of sacrifice should be willingly and deliberately taken by those who lead the Church forward. Only thus, as I have said so often, can we hope for the new birth of the spirit." N.B.—About the evil effects of mass movements, see also the views of Rev. J. A. Sharrock, M.A., the S. P. G. Missionary and the author of *South Indian Missions* in Footnote 6 ante.

the bayonet. While also, in matters of religious conviction, Western individualism would permit people to stand apart from the secular society, with liberty to organise themselves into independent religious associations,—which would enable the individual in such secular society to practise a qualified form of freedom of conscience, while retaining his liberty to leave one religious group as occasion might require, in favour of another religious group, or *to belong to no religious group at all*. It is hardly necessary to point out that under this double code or scheme of social life and discipline, it is the secular society that will, unless there is something special in the circumstances of the case, eventually gain the upper hand, and the rightness or the wrongness of social conduct will practically come to be directly associated by public opinion with the limited standards and ideals set up by the State laws ; although, at the same time, it must be admitted that the independent, separate religious organisations, will also, but as far as they are able, seek to moralise the lives of their members and exercise an influence—which would only be an *indirect* influence—upon the general secular society. Clearly, the matter cannot be decided off-hand,—whether the theory of individualism,—which would favour the progressive growth of a secular society on the basis of State laws or statutory regulations enforceable at the point of the sword, but which would also leave such society open to receive what influences it may from the religious and ethical organisations present in its midst,—which, however, one might enter or leave at one's option—represents a better or more efficient theory of social organisation than the one formulated by the Hindu system in which the individual *as individual* is left free to pursue his personal, independent schemes suited to the special circumstances of his case in all vital matters affecting his spiritual welfare,—while, as a component part of the communal organism receiving his full share of influence by reason of his forming such part, he is required to preserve the sanctity, stability and solidarity of the communal socio-religious life.

IV

Having brought out at some length the principle of caste-fixity involving, as it does, a total repudiation of the baptised Indian—socially, morally and spiritually ; and having further pointed out that this fixity of caste is at bottom founded on a theory of *social* life which is communal and not individualistic ; and having further explained that this non-individualistic, non-propagandist ideal of Hindu socio-religious organisation (which, nevertheless, is individualistic in all matters concerning the *personal salvation* of the individual) is also allied to a non-propagandist theory of Indian teaching (for in India, teaching is not by way of direct

propaganda but by infection or influence),—we proceed to examine how the writer proposes to tackle the problem of how best to purge the Indian Church of its "moral failures" and "moral outlaws," seeing that not much help is forthcoming from Hindu society by reason of the unalterable uncompromising attitude of Hindu communal organisations. "Indian society—tolerant in some respects as it is—is so intolerant of differences of custom in ceremonial matters"—the writer of the article we have been discussing is here referring, from the standpoint of *individualism*, to the rules of ethical and religious practice imposed upon the individual member by the community system—"that it will not allow a man freedom to live according to conscience ; and the convert, except in the cases of mass movements must look to the missionary even for the right to exist."^{10a} And so proceeds the writer to observe : "It will at once be clear that the situation created by caste demands the reconstruction of many of our ideas as to the method of propagating Christianity, or at least an alteration of our emphasis. The baptised Indian is not prepared for a morality dependent solely upon his own isolated self-regulation. Of course, in this he does not stand alone. No people is prepared for isolated self-regulation, and the community certainly influences the British individual to a high degree."¹¹ The Indian needs some support from the Christian Church to take the place of the old caste rules. More than anywhere else in India, two civilisations meet within her boundary. I have known a sordid intrigue justified by a young schoolmaster" (Indian Christian) "who had learnt enough English to read English love stories, and to imitate their freedom without understanding the restraints of English life. The problem of sex is only one illustration of the need for creating a disciplinary standard for the Indian Church. One of the most experienced Christians of my acquaintance has confessed that the Indian Christian community on such points does not in the least know where it stands. New bottles must be found in which to place the new wine. The Hindu

^{10a.} *Vide* Footnotes 4 and 10 ; also Footnote 6.

¹¹ Read the following extracts from the speech at the World Missionary Conference, 1910, Edinburgh, of the Chairman of the Commission No. II on "The Church in the Mission Field" to be found in the Report of the Commission—"I appeal to all missionaries whether I am not right in saying that there is no more difficult and soul-trying work than this work of the discipline of the Church. We all know the temptations amid which the Christian life of the members of the young Church is lived, we all know how they are shut off from what is the life of many a Christian in this country or other Christian countries, and is so helpful,—*the traditions behind it—the hereditary examples and traditions, and the Christian atmosphere*. These Christians in the mission field stand up without any of these helps." (*Ibid.*, p. 243). See Footnote 10.

and Mohammedan attitude towards women is in most cases based upon a thoroughly unchristian suspicion and this suspicion often produces limitations such as Christianity cannot accept." Having stated the problem in all its nakedness and its ugliness, the writer asks in all seriousness,—"What, then, is to be done? It is very easy to go on evangelising among the villages. It is a more interesting thing to go out to pioneering work in the bazaar or villages than to dwell alongside the imperfect, half-moral, uninspired members of the Church. A missionary very easily becomes committed to a large amount of evangelistic work; but while he does it, the babies who were negligible when he began, have grown up into boys and girls for whom no provision is made, and who in a year or two will bring disgrace upon the Church for want of teaching and proper care." Therefore, in the view of the writer, although "for some time yet there will be need for that kind of evangelising in which the foreigner can best attract the attention of men of education and of good caste, yet *the care of the Christian community*, in order that it may evangelise, and even that it may command the Gospel by its conduct,¹² is immensely more important than further evangelisation by the *foreign* missionary.¹³ It is necessary to keep in mind that no Christian community will grow in morality

12. Read in this connection the remarks made by a Christian missionary at a session of the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh held on 16th June, 1910 (p. 371 of Report of Commission No. II on 'The Church in the Mission Field'):—"We often hear in missionary circles of the unchristian life of so-called European Christians being a stumbling-block to non-Christians, which hinders them from becoming members of the Church of Christ. That is certainly true, but I am even more convinced of the immoral and unchristian lives of baptised natives being a vast hindrance to the conversion of their fellow-countrymen. It cannot be denied that there are men of bad character members of the Church in the Christian world of ten years ago. Missionary Societies are fond of good statistics; but they may be a danger to some missionaries who like to please their Committee and show the marvellous result of their work by large numbers. As far as the civilised non-Christian nations are concerned, where the few of the multitudes enter the gates of the Church, the greatest care must be taken with those who are received by baptism. I think men are not so very particular in turning from one religion to another." See Footnote 14.

13. Read in a similar connection the following extracts from an article on "Evangelistic Work among the Masses and its Problems" by Bishop Whitehead of Madras:—"There is the danger lest the gathering-in of many millions of the outcastes, the majority of whom are poor, ignorant and vicious, should fatally lower the moral standard of the Christian Church. If they are hastily baptised, without proper instruction; if when they are baptised, they are left untaught and uncared for, if no care is taken to educate their children, or to raise the parents out of their poverty and degradation, then undoubtedly the effect of these great mass movements upon the Church will prove disastrous." (Vide p. 258 of *The Year Book of Missions in India, 1912*).

which is not conducting a campaign against heathenism around it. The evangelism which is more carefully to be cultivated is not that of the hired crowd of Biblewomen and catechists but that of the voluntary worker." Therefore, argues the writer—"when a Christian community has been baptised, numerous enough to be *more or less self-dependent on the purely economic side*, it will often be the wiser course to suspend the work of *foreign* evangelism.¹⁴ If it be true that we are responsible for all the descendants of Christians, work among children and young people, though always important, becomes in India ten times more so. But such a policy is often the line of the greatest resistance."

V

Having brought out the reasons for the writer's insistence that the raising of the practical moral standard among the masses of the Indian Christian community is the one great task with which Christianity in India is at the present moment confronted, we proceed to explain how the writer proposes to grapple with it. It would seem that he hopes to find an effective lever for the raising of the Christian masses in the methods and ideals of disciplinary punishment reserved for caste-offences.¹⁵ "Is it impossible to prevent the weaknesses at which you have hinted? Is there no possibility that

14. Read the following extracts taken from an article on *The Hindu Caste System* by the Rev. B. Lucas of Bellary, in the "Year Book of Missions in India, 1912":—It would be well if some of our missionaries passed a kind of self-denying ordinance and abstained for a time from baptising at all, being content to allow the leaven of their preaching to do its full work. We shall have to free ourselves from what can only be described as the curse of statistics, with its accompanying feverish anxiety to show an increase in the number of converts, often it is to be feared to the hindrance of the spread of the Kingdom." (*Ibid.*, p. 96). See also Footnotes 12 and 13.

15. The following observations bearing on this point are taken from the Report of Commission No. II of the World Missionary Conference, 1910 (pp. 95-96, 97):—"The Indian mind is familiar with the village and caste *Panchayats* as disciplinary bodies, and we rejoice to find that in almost every case, these are being taken up and utilised by the Christian Church in India. Indeed, it is a wise policy to translate our Western titles, such as "council," "session," and "synod," as far as possible, by equivalent names that are indigenous. In missions where the Panchayat system prevails, we note evidence to the effect that decisions arrived at in these meetings carry a weight which does not in the same degree attach to the verdict of the missionary-in-charge, or of a council mainly European. In a few cases we notice that it is still the European missionary who is the sole officer of discipline, and perhaps this is inevitable in the earliest days of a Mission. Plainly, however, it ought never to be regarded as a permanent feature, or be long acquiesced in. If we, as foreigners, discipline the unruly, we may edify the individual, but we fail to edify the community, for we destroy the sense that it is the duty of the community to guard its own morality.....According to several of our correspondents, a fine imposed by the community is a common and effective mode of discipline for minor offences. In India, where the offences against caste are dealt with in the Hindu brotherhood meetings by means of a fine, we notice that in not a few missions this practice has been taken over into the Christian Church, and several correspondents testify to its effectiveness." See Footnote 16.

discipline wisely exercised may to some extent meet the case?" And the writer proceeds to observe that "some idea of discipline will be by no means foreign to the Indian mind. Caste discipline among the Hindus, and to some extent among the Muhammadans, is exceedingly strict in certain relations of conduct."¹⁶ The outward

16. The following observations and facts taken from an article on "Caste Government" from the pen of Mr. L.S.S. O'Malley, I.C.S., Superintendent of the Census Operations, Bengal (1911) in the Report of the Census for Bengal, Behar and Orissa, published by the Government in the course of the present year will go a great way towards clearing up this subject of Hindu communal methods of discipline. The writer in referring to "the vitality of caste polity and the important part played by caste tribunals," observes that "it is their function to adjudicate upon questions affecting the purity and solidarity of the caste; they are the medium through which the unwritten law of the community is brought into action. They take cognizance of offences against that law, and their jurisdiction has a wide range, extending over matters domestic, moral, social, and in some cases also, professional, civil and criminal.....The powers of the caste tribunals extend over a wide range. They take cognizance of breaches of the unwritten law of the caste, including breaches of social and religious rules, professional etiquette, and even the amenities of domestic life. It must not be supposed, however, that all offences are formally brought before the Panchayat. Frequently the offenders are simply reprimanded by the village elders, or the matter is quietly compromised. The caste headman commonly sends his messenger to settle matters privately. Perhaps the commonest offences are those connected with the moral law, such as adultery, seduction, elopement, etc. In dealing with social matters the caste tribunals frequently trench upon the jurisdiction of the criminal and civil courts. Cases of assault on a fellow casteman are tried and compensation ordered. Abuse of a fellow casteman is dealt with leniently, but abuse of a headman severely, often entailing temporary excommunication. Endeavours are made to preserve peace and concord in the community. The spreading of false rumours, insults, disrespect to elders all render the disturber of the peace liable to punishment. A husband and wife who frequently quarrel are brought to book. Reconciliations are effected in families that have quarrelled, and partitions are prevented. Failure to attend caste festivals, and any attempt to deprive caste-fellows of their rights is promptly taken account of. Religious offences such as selling cows for meat, allowing a cow to die while tied up, the neglect of or improper performance of religious ceremonies are commonly dealt with and severe sentences inflicted." (*Ibid.*, paragraphs 852, and 889).

"The punishment awarded by caste councils are briefly (1) outcasting, which may be, either temporary or permanent, (2) fines, (3) feasts given to the caste men, (4) corporal punishment; and (5) among the better castes, religious punishments such *prayaschitta* (an expiatory ceremony), pilgrimages and penances. A man is *permanently outcasted* for grave offences. This extreme penalty has often been awarded when a man has married a woman of his own caste *without or against the consent of her relatives*. Adultery and engaging in an occupation which is looked upon as degrading are sometimes similarly punished. Except for grave delinquencies, the outcasting is generally *temporary*. A man is re-admitted into caste as soon as the period has expired, and it is also a common thing for a sentence to be commuted, e.g., to a fine and a feast. The man who is re-admitted into caste has generally to

decencies of life are, in certain cases at least, safeguarded by the possibilities that caste will fine a man, or in the least resort will

provide a feast for his fellow castemen. *His joining in the feast symbolises the fact that he is again in communion with them. Among the lower castes, feasts to the castemen of the village are the commonest form of punishment.*" (Ibid., paras 890, 894). *Temporary outcasting* is also passed in order to enforce obedience to the Panchayat's orders. A suspect is frequently outcasted till he clears himself of a charge. A curious instance of this precaution is reported from Purnea. A man of the Rajbansi caste was charged by another of having had illicit intercourse with his widowed mother-in-law. The Panchayats met in due course, and as the charge was of a grave nature, the statement of the informer was taken down in writing and his thumb impression was taken on it, as well as a written undertaking that he would forfeit Rupees ten if the charge was found to be untrue. The Panchaat could not arrive at a decision. The charge was, on the evidence, "unproven," but there was the risk of its being found true within three months, when it would be quite clear whether the woman was pregnant or not. In the meantime, they all ran a danger if they ate with the man. So to make themselves secure, they outcasted him for those three months," (Ibid., para. 890.)

"The feeding of Brahmans, pilgrimages to some sacred shrine, bathing in the Ganges and the offering of pujas to the gods are often prescribed as punishments. A man may have to perform one or other or a combination⁴ of these penances. Then comes the feeding of castemen." (Ibid., para. 891.)

"A man whose charge is found to be false by the Panchayat is as liable to punishment as the accused would be if it was proved. He may be outcasted temporarily or fined, or he may be subjected to personal punishment. He may be bound hand and foot and exposed to the sun, or whipped, or he may be given five kicks by every member of the meeting, or tied up in a mat and left for some hours in that uncomfortable position. Some of the sentences are very light, others are very heavy, but a frank submission and apology sometimes procures a cancellation of the sentence. The severity of the punishment is frequently mitigated in the case of rich men, but they do not escape altogether. To quote a case in point. A Kahar in Saran was outcasted for adultery with his sister-in-law. He went off to Calcutta, made money, and on his return spent a good deal of it trying to induce his caste fellows to remove the bar laid on him. Eventually they promised to readmit him into caste on condition that when he was reinstated, every man beat him with shoes, and duly submitted to his beating." (Ibid., paras. 895 and 893).

"Fines are imposed in three kinds of cases—(i) Caste cases, in which the individual has lost his caste through poverty and applies for readmission. The Manki takes a portion of the fine, and the rest is divided among the Panchayat members. (ii) Offences against the general interests of the community, e.g., the cutting of a tree in a sacred grove or immoderate felling in a village forest. (iii) Personal disputes between parties. The major portion of the fine is given to the aggrieved party as compensation. The amount of the fine is regulated by the offender's capability to pay, and there is seldom any difficulty about realisation. When fines are inflicted they are either paid on the spot, or realised later by the Chharidar. Compulsion is not necessary, for default in payment is met by outcasting; the defaulter is simply boycotted and cut off from all social intercourse till he pays up. The proceeds are spent in a number of different ways. Most commonly they are spent on providing

outlaw him." But then, the writer goes on to remark, "in the Christian Church¹⁷ the question becomes much more difficult. The Church of all places¹⁷ is the most difficult for purposes of discipline." But apart from this aspect of the case, the writer finds a further difficulty in dependence on caste-ideals of punishment. Referring to the system of excommunication from the caste-community, as a measure of caste-discipline, the writer finds grounds for suspicion that "it may not be the right thing to do, if we are to attempt to model Christian procedure on caste precedent." For, the writer argues,—"How can we as Christians whose Master ate with publicans and sinners, outlaw any of those who are guilty even of thoroughly immoral lives? Remember

a common feast, or utilised for the purchase of mats for the members to sit on in council, and for other incidental expenses of the Panchayats, such as the purchase of cooking pots. They may be, and often are, devoted to charitable purposes, e.g., to helping a poor man in meeting the expenses of his daughter's marriage, and in paying for the funerals of the indigent; or they are put to religious and pious uses, such as feeding Brahmins and alms to the poor. They may be allowed to accumulate till there is enough to build a temple. Occasionally also they are expended on works of public utility, such as tanks and wells." (Ibid., patas. 901 and 896)

17. In the Report of Commission No. II of the World Missionary Conference, 1910, we read:—"The Commission approaches the subject of Church discipline with a profound sense of its importance. A study of the early history of the Western Church warns us how fruitful a source of strife and division has been this matter of discipline, and in modern times the Kingdom of God suffers—in this respect perhaps more than any other—alike from the divisions which prevail among us, and *from the spirit of individualism which is so characteristic of the Anglo-American temper.*" (Ibid., p. 94). On page 370 of the Report we read the following observations of an S. P. G. Missionary—"In dealing with the native Christians, one of the difficulties which have presented themselves to me in the work is that where you have been preparing a candidate for baptism and you have felt bound to postpone that baptism for good reasons, some other Christian body has stepped in and baptised your man. It is that want of common discipline that seems to be a very great evil on the part of those who are about to become Christians." The recommendation of the Commission on this last-mentioned aspect of Church Discipline is as follows:—"We think it right to express strong disapproval of the acceptance as candidates for baptism by any responsible body, of persons who are already in the catechumenate of another mission within the same area, and trust that such action, which, happily, is not frequent, will be entirely abandoned by common consent." (Ibid., p. 269). And on another aspect of Church Discipline, the Commission recommends that—"It is of importance that Church discipline should be mutually respected by all communities, and that care should be taken to avoid receiving, even by inadvertence, those who are *fugitives from discipline.*" (Ibid., p. 269). Again, generally, the Commission observes:—"There are questions, in regard to both faith and morals, which cannot be regarded as in any degree doubtful, and the *almost complete disappearance of Church discipline in the West is not commendable*, or to be imitated among Christian communities which are yet young in the faith. (Ibid., p. 118).

that excommunication can only mean a refusal to admit the sinner to the worship of the Church (a proceeding which, after all, is not likely to help him to reform), and a refusal to allow him to eat with, or be supplied with food by, any of his fellow-Christians. It would also affect the marriage of his children. How can Christians accept such a proposal as possible?" The difficulties of the problem of discipline within the Christian Church are fully appreciated by the writer and he pleads for co-operation and conjoint action: "The problems I have raised are problems about which the Indian Christian community itself is greatly puzzled. They open a field of investigation, suggestion and initiation to the ablest of missionaries, and the wisest of the Indian Christian leaders. Here are problems which will tax the Christian administrator to the full. *To a very considerable extent, the future of the Christian Church must depend upon their solution.*"

VI

The writer, however, does not rest content with leaving the matter wholly in the hands of fellow-workers. He has his own ideas and suggestions to offer. In the first place, he insists upon the value of *social discipline* for moral and religious purposes: "Sin against the Christian name cannot be allowed to leave *social relations* exactly where they were before." He would be "prepared to reconsider the question of definite excommunication, even in face of what I have written above", if all other measures failed. To the objection that Christianity raises the fallen by the power of baptismal "grace" (and not by the power of external force,) by the power, namely, of the action of the Holy Spirit (and not by any artificial processes of re-adjustment of social relationships, imposing a measure of external restraint or pain or discomfort upon the offending Christian)—the answer which the writer makes is that the régime of "*law*", of "*legalism*", of constraint and force, of deprivation of privileges,—may after all be necessary to the life of the baptised Indian, as a first measure, notwithstanding that, as the writer candidly admits, the theory of or belief in baptism requires the true Christian to hold that "whenever we baptise a man or a community, we conquer the manifestation of human sin." The position of the writer is further emphasised by the following statements: "Grace, it sometimes seems, must wait till people have learned the lessons which a régime of legalism can teach. There is a certain stage in the growth of any individual and community during which a considerable measure of *law* is required." In reply to the objection that Christianity thus understood is not the Christianity of the Gospel, is not the Christianity of the New Testament whose

Whole insistence is upon "grace" as the only potent instrument of progress in moral and religious life,—but that, on the contrary, it is the Christianity of the Old Testament whose whole emphasis is upon law or constraint (as contra-distinguished from *grace*)—upon "legalism", upon "the Law and the Prophets", the writer makes the candid admission that the method he proposes "*is* a return to the Old Testament." But while conceding so much, he seeks to strengthen his position by putting forward the following commonsense view of the matter. "We have to ask ourselves how far we are able to introduce the full glory of the Gospel until the lessons of the Law and the Prophets have been learnt in some degree"; and he makes the further plea that "social and religious influences are interwoven", which implies that social punishments and restraints may be used against the offending baptised Indian, with a view to set him right not only with his community (which is the caste ideal of punishment), *but also to make him amenable to the influences of "grace"*.

VII

Accepting, however, the principle of law or restraint (as contra-distinguished from *baptismal grace*), as a lever wherewith to raise the more disreputable members of the Indian Christian community, the writer would not willingly adopt so drastic a measure as that of excommunication: "Can we find any way by which, without cutting the offender from any association with the Christian community, we may yet make him feel that he cannot bring the Christian name into disrepute with impunity?" And his answer is that "there are such ways?"—and these may be summed up by the formula—"deprivation of social privileges"—privileges to which the Christian offender would have been entitled if he had not offended. Of such deprivations, the writer first takes into consideration the question of "suspension from Church privileges, i.e., from special privileges attaching to the membership of the Church, as distinct from connection with the Christian community." But this form of disciplinary punishment would not seem to the writer to be very effective. For, "many Christians have not grasped the privileges of Church membership, and the punishment is not felt as a severe one, or one that greatly deters or influences them. Above all, in the worst cases, the man is probably not a member, or does not care a scrap for the vote of suspension." The writer, however, is more hopeful if those under suspension are excluded from certain rejoicings and festivals by which great store is set." But the measure of discipline upon which the writer would seem to rely with a considerable measure of hope is—refusal of help by the Christian missionary in matters connected with the offender's worldly advancement, with

his prospects, namely, of material gain in life. Thus,—“the foreign missionary—and to a certain extent the leader of the Indian Christian community—can frequently use his influence to help a man to rise in his profession, or to obtain a post which will give him a chance of showing his ability. There are also other privileges of an undefined character connected with an ordinary Mission. These are probably of sufficient significance to make their refusal a real punishment, and thus means could be sought to secure the possibility of signallising the view of the Mission, and still more of the Indian Christian community, that sin against the Christian name cannot be allowed *to leave social relations exactly where they were before.*”

VIII.

The article, “*Revenge of Caste upon the Christian Church in India,*” whose main theses we have sought to bring out in the course of this somewhat lengthy discussion, in most places in the very words of the writer, is an article of considerable importance as an exposition of the reciprocal action in this country of two types and ideals—the Hindu and the Christian—of social organisation. The spiritual power of baptism, it would appear, has either to wait for its manifestation, or to seek an unholy alliance with outside worldly forces—e.g., in the shape of missionary refusal to aid an offending Christian in the matter of the improvement of the latter’s material prospects in life—in which case the hypothesis upon whose strength action is sought to be taken is that spiritual life may and does receive, however indirectly, an accession of strength or an impetus towards growth fromwithin by such non-spiritual treatment. A theory of spiritual growth like this is not reckoned by the Hindu society or Scriptures in any sense *spiritual*. In Hindu Sociology, the offender when he is relegated to the social jurisdiction of the community to which he belongs is never considered to be undergoing any sort of *spiritual* treatment; he is understood as undergoing punishment for an offence against his community, for in India the social unit is not the individual, but the community. In the language of the writer of the article,—“when a man has committed a grave offence, caste rules will be set in operation against him, and the punishment¹⁸ will probably take the form of a feast to the caste.” Admitting with the writer that in the above mode of meting out punishment, “it is impossible to say that any great moral reprobation is exhibited, or that any great ethical result can be produced,” it is nevertheless urged that such form of punishment is never treated as a spiritual, but only as *secular*, form of punishment such as is permitted to a community to impose upon any erring individual member or members, that it acts only in

18. Vide Footnote 16.

an indirect sort of way, and is so far not to be undervalued. But it would be a grave error to imagine that caste punishments are spiritual punishments intended directly to help on the spiritual growth of the individual. In Hindu Sociology, the individual Hindu, while remaining subject to the disciplinary jurisdiction of his caste community, always pursues a path of freedom in matters connected with his inner spiritual life ; and consequently, Hinduism recognises two different types of offences—offences against the community of which the offender forms a part,—and offences against the law of spiritual life (which is wholly individualistic), affecting the growth of the higher life of the offender, and in relation to which provision is made in the Brahmanical ecclesiastical laws—the Smritis in the first place,—and also in the rules and observances of the particular religious sect to which the offender belongs. All offences which affect visibly or directly other individuals are, under the Hindu Code, in the first place, caste or communal offences (except in the case of Sannyasins or ascetics who have left off all secular relations) ; and in the second place, they are in very many instances *spiritual*—affecting the prospects of an upward spiritual life (both in this world while living, and in another, after physical death). And it is expressly laid down that an offence which is *both* communal and spiritual—may be atoned for *in its relation to the caste-community* by the offender accepting the disciplinary punishment of the caste ; but nevertheless it would remain unexpiated spiritually, so long as the individual has not availed himself, for the purpose of such expiation, of the particular methods of expiation (applicable to the case of his particular offence) laid down in the ecclesiastical laws,—the Dharma Shastras. Again, the Hindu Code recognises various offences which are *exclusively* offences against the Spirit, standing in the way of his individual salvation—in the way of his approach to his Maker, and these are dealt with by the Shastras and made amenable to spiritual treatment—for the benefit of the individual offender. Such offences not being caste or communal offences, the caste or community has no voice in adjudicating on them and inflicting punishment upon the individual offender in respect thereto. This clear differentiation between different types of offences—some being both communal and spiritual offences, some again exclusively communal, and others again exclusively spiritual—this thorough-going differentiation is necessitated by the fundamental postulate and teaching of the Hindu Scriptures that the individual life is not exhausted by the passing away of the physical frame; that further, the individual has to reap the fruits of his actions, good or bad, in another sphere or mode of environmental existence ; that further still, when a portion of the forces set in motion by past acts has

been spent off by submission to the natural reactions or resultants of such acts, in the shape of either suffering or enjoyment, the individual has to come back to this earthly environment—here to reap the fruits of such of his good or bad actions as were still unexhausted ; and that the ultimate goal for the individual is to be finally freed from this round of self-seeking *karmas* and thus to enter on an order of existence,—of spiritual life which is not of this world—in which he consciously lives and moves and has his being in God—a state of existence which may be called transcendental, in the sense that it transcends all present conceptions of the unemancipated mortal—i.e., a mortal who is not yet freed from the hankerings of a self-seeking life—who is not freed from the self-seeking desire to share the limited experiences of an objective physical existence. Thus, the individual in his two-fold character, namely, in his relation to his community, and in his relation to his God or the Spirit, is capable of committing offences which are distinguished and dealt with separately by the Hindu Code : And it would be a serious mistake to imagine with the writer of the article and with a large body of Western-educated Indians who have not taken the trouble to obtain a deeper insight into matters of Hindu Sociology,—it would be a serious error to imagine that caste exhausts Hindu life and that submission to the discipline of the caste-community,—or that conformity to prescribed communal socio-religious practices and customs is for the Hindu anything more than *first aids*, or necessary preliminary steps to a life of spiritual progress here and hereafter. Caste life and spiritual life lie on two separate, though connected, planes; and the Shastras, while remaining alive to the distinction, emphasise the need for regulating the life of the individual on both planes, with a view to secure the co-ordinated, ordered progress of communal life, and, thus indirectly, of the individual as member of an organic body ; and, also directly, of the individual in his *independent* character as a separate individual unit. They never fall into the error or confusion of supposing, for instance, that “refusal of help to an offender to rise in his profession or to obtain a post which will give him a chance of showing his ability” is a measure, however remotely, of spiritual reform, or that it is anything but the exercise of the legitimate jurisdiction of a caste-community over the individual, in the interests of the maintenance of communal solidarity and a collective standard of socio-religious life. The animadversions of the writer of *The East and The West* article on the non-spiritual character of caste-discipline thus lose much of their force when the whole situation has been once viewed in the proper perspective,—viewed, that is, in the light of the true scope and real functions, and of the limitations, of caste punishments. The want of clear ideas about the (special and limited) functions of caste-discipline

in relation to caste or communal offences has led the writer to minimise the *intrinsic* difficulties of spiritual regeneration of individuals, generally, whether professing the Hindu, or the Christian, or any other faith¹⁹—and to throw the whole blame for the failure or ill-success that ordinarily attends all efforts at such regeneration,—on the devoted head of the Hindu caste, i.e., on the system of social or socio-religious discipline which it formulates and imposes on all communal members.²⁰ This would explain the writer's following remarks with which we desire to conclude this somewhat prolonged discussion: "Whenever we baptise a man²¹ or a community, we conquer that manifestation of human sin which has developed the modern iniquities of caste. But in so far as the

19. See Footnote 21.

20. *Vide* full details given in Footnote 16.

21. While on this question of baptismal 'grace', it may be pointed out that the Hindu Scriptures lay down the need for 'initiation' by a competent Guru. The rite of *baptism* may be taken in all essential respects as corresponding to the rite of Hindu *diksha* (दीक्षा) which is initiation into the mysteries of spiritual life by a competent Spiritual Preceptor. Hinduism posits as much as Christianity the need for 'grace'; but it would appear that this *grace* or *kripa* (क्रपा), as it is termed in Hindu Theology, is not an abstract entity, but a form of Spiritual Energy (शक्ति) which is communicated or imparted for the first time to the individual disciple during the process of *diksha* or initiation by a *Sadguru*, (सद्गुरु) that is to say, a Guru or Preceptor who has Himself entered into the realms of the Spirit by direct realisation of Self (आत्मदर्शन) and God (परमात्मदर्शन). Hinduism posits God as the only Guru, but the Sadguru, because He lives and moves and has His being in God, is able to impart or communicate directly to the disciple the *Sakti* (शक्ति) or Spiritual Energy which alone belongs to the Highest, and in which the Sadguru shares and upon which all individual self-effort must in the long run wait. The error of the Christian Church is that the Power or Spiritual Energy which Jesus could communicate or impart to His disciples during the act of baptism and which is designated as *baptismal grace*, is a power which could be imparted or communicated by an individual who although he may not have attained to the spiritual heights of a Sadguru, is yet officially vested by the Christian Church with authority to baptise the unconverted non-Christian. The power of *grace* is a power which can work spiritual miracles; nevertheless it is not for any or every individual wearing the ecclesiastic's robe to claim the right to invoke this supreme power, and consequently the numerous conversions to Christianity that we note in India, mostly among the depressed and outcaste classes of the Hindu community, are, properly speaking, in the nature of a social conversion—that is to say, it is the winning over of individuals from one secular society to another. The process of compasing the spiritual conversion of the unconverted is a process which it is not given to any but to the selectest and the 'freed' (मुक्त) to accomplish, and even then it is a slow and arduous process. For, according to the Hindu Shastras, the Sadguru would not, while leading and guiding and controlling the disciple, ordinarily interfere with the laws working around such disciple, both within and without, and to whose influence the disciple must remain subject for such length of time as may be deemed necessary. Firstly, then, the law of Divine *grace* (or *kripa*, as it is called in Hinduism) absolutely dominates the whole

Indian Church has not the fulness of the Spirit—and who are we that we should expect it so soon?—caste goes underground and emerges within, the Christian Church." On this our only comment would be that in the absence of any constructive independent scheme, such destructive criticisms as the above are hardly fair; for, as we have seen already, the writer himself, in the presence of a very complicated situation, and to safeguard, as he thinks, the future *spiritual* growth of the fallen members of the Indian Christian community, is compelled to fall back upon the Hindu ideal of caste, i.e., communal, discipline as the only alternative that is left to him,—and this, after the discovery that baptismal 'grace', which by Christian theory should by itself have potency enough to effect the moral and spiritual re-birth of the baptised Indian, has not, as a matter of actual fact, proved of much practical use in the circumstances of his case.²²

situation; secondly, that such *grace* could only be invoked by the Sadguru Himself who is freed from the entanglements of all outside forces and influences and who has thus entered into the realm of the innermost Spirit and the Sanctuary of the Highest God; thirdly, that the imparting of Spiritual Energy (*शक्तिशार*) by the Sadguru is not a single final act, but is also a continued process during which the Sadguru keeps himself in constant and intimate touch with the disciple, in most cases unknown to the latter, directing him from within, along ways which should ultimately lead to the Highest; and fourthly and lastly, during this last-mentioned process; the disciple has to work out his *purushakar* (*पुरुषकार*) or sense of power of personal, independent effort (independent, i.e., of the power of grace), while practising the methods of spiritual discipline incalculated by the Sadguru, and while also remaining subject to such influences as must come to the disciple as the inevitable result of those *karmic* forces which have ushered in the disciple's present bodily existence.

22. See Footnote 21.



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